

DISSERTATIONS

UPON THE

APPARITIONS

OF

Angels, Dæmons, and Ghosts,

And concerning the

VAMPIRES

OF

Hungary, Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia.

By the Reverend Father

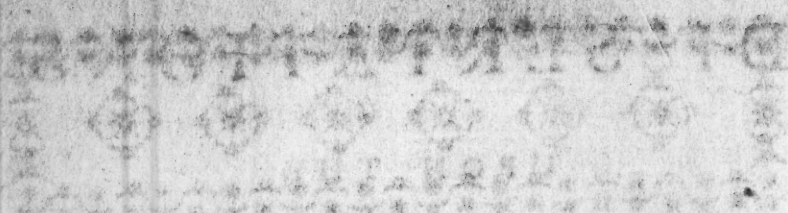
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A Benedictine Monk, and Abbot of Senones in Lorraine. K

Translated from the FRENCH.

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APPARITIONS

PREFACE
Angela, Demons, and Ghosts.

THESE APPARITIONS, which are the subject of this work, are of a nature which has long attracted the attention of the human mind, and which have been the subject of much speculation and inquiry.

It is not, however, until the last few years, that the subject has been treated in a systematic and scientific manner. The late Mr. Crookes, of London, was the first to publish a series of papers on the subject, which have since been followed by many others.



The present work is the result of a series of experiments, which have been conducted in the most careful and systematic manner. The results of these experiments are here presented to the public, in the form of a series of papers, which will, it is believed, be found of great interest and value.

It is to be regretted that the present work is not more complete than it is, but it is hoped that it will be found to contain much of the most interesting and valuable material on the subject. The author is indebted to many friends and colleagues for their assistance and advice, and to the British Museum for the facilities which have been afforded him.

PREFACE.

I AM not ignorant that the apparitions of angels, demons, and departed souls, are a subject which has employed a great number of writers: and I am not vain enough to imagine that I shall succeed better, or throw more light upon it than they have done. I am sensible that I expose myself to the criticisms, and perhaps to the laughter of many readers, who look upon this matter as quite exhausted, and now generally exploded by philosophers and men of learning, and even by many divines. I have no reason to expect the approbation of the vulgar, whose want of discernment disqualifies them for being competent judges in a question of this nature. My design is not to promote superstition, or to furnish entertainment for the fond credulity of visionary minds, and such as blindly be-

lieve every thing that is told them, as soon as they discover any thing in it that is miraculous and supernatural. In short, I write only for reasonable and unprejudiced minds, who examine into things seriously and coolly, who assent not to uncontested truths without considering them, who are capable of doubting when things are uncertain, of suspending their judgment when they doubt, and of rejecting what is evidently false. As for such freethinkers as deny every thing, in order to distinguish themselves above the rest of mankind, I leave them in their exalted sphere. They may entertain what opinion they please of my work; and as it is not designed for them, probably they will not be at the pains to read it.

I undertook it with a view to my own information, and in order to form a just notion of all that is commonly reported concerning the apparitions of angels, demons, and departed souls. I had a mind to see how far this matter was certain; or uncertain; true, or false; known, or unknown; clear, or obscure.

In the great number of facts and instances which I have collected, I have endeavoured to make a proper distinction, and not to heap up too great a multitude; fearing, that if
the

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the instances were too numerous, such as are doubtful might hurt the credit of those that are certain, and that by attempting to prove too much, I should prove nothing at all. Even among those which I have quoted, there will be found some that will not easily gain credit with many readers; and I am very willing that they should give no attention to them.

I desire them, however, duly to consider the facts which are laid before them, and they will then be able with me to pronounce sentence, to affirm, I deny, or remain in doubt.

It seemed to me of great importance, on account of the regard which every man owes to truth, and the veneration which a Christian, and especially a clergyman, owes to religion, to undeceive those who look upon all stories of apparitions as true; and to shew the truth and reality of a great number to those who look upon all as false. It is in all cases shameful to deceive one's self; but when religion is concerned, it is particularly dangerous to believe lightly, or deny rashly, to continue wilfully in doubt, or to persist obstinately in superstition and illusion. It is a great point gained to be able to doubt soberly, and not to pass judgment upon things which are beyond the sphere of our knowledge.

Nothing that relates to this subject has astonished me more than the accounts of the vampires of Hungary, Moravia, and Poland; of the Broucolacks of Greece; and of the bodies of excommunicated persons which are said never to rot. I thought myself obliged to give it all the attention I was capable of, and resolved to treat of it in a particular dissertation, distinct from that upon the apparitions of spirits. After having studied the point thoroughly, and got all the information relating to it that I could, I found that there was little in it which could be depended upon as certain. This consideration, joined to the advice of some judicious and respectable persons whom I consulted, made me give over my design entirely, and quit a subject exposed to so many contradictions.

But, considering the thing in another light, I presumed my pen, with a resolution of undeceiving the publick, if I found the common reports to be absolutely false, or of shewing that all that is advanced upon this subject is uncertain, and that one ought to be very cautious in deciding concerning these vampires, which have made so much noise in the world for some time past, and concerning which people are still divided in their opinions, even in those countries which are the

scene of their pretended return from the grave.

I shall, therefore, examine this question as an historian, as a philosopher, and as a divine. As an historian, I shall endeavour to discover the truth of the facts; as a philosopher, I shall consider their causes and circumstances; and lastly, the light which theology affords will enable me to draw from it some consequences, with a view to religion. So that I write not in hopes of convincing freethinkers, and scepticks, of the existence of vampires, nor even of the apparitions of angels, devils, and ghosts; nor to frighten weak and credulous minds with stories of surprising apparitions. On the other side, I do not expect to cure the errors of the superstitious, or the prejudices of the people, nor even to correct the abuses which spring from their unenlightened belief, or to answer all the objections which may be made against apparitions, or to distinguish myself and acquire fame, or divert myself. Still less do I pretend to set myself up for a judge and censor of the works and opinions of others, by spreading dangerous doubts upon a matter which concerns religion, and from which some persons might draw mischievous consequences to impugn the authority of the Scrip-

tures, and the stedfast doctrines of our holy faith. I shall therefore handle the subject with all the care and seriousness that it deserves, and I pray God to enable me to do it with success.

I must further desire my reader to make a distinction between the facts themselves which are related, and the manner of their being brought about; since the former may be certain, and the latter wholly unknown. There are in Scripture several relations of apparitions of angels and departed souls: the truth of which is indisputable, being founded upon the divine authority of the Sacred Writings; but the manner in which God wrought these resurrections, or permitted these apparitions, is hid among the secrets of his providence. We are allowed, however, to examine into the circumstances of these events, and to propose our conjectures concerning the manner in which they were brought about. But it would be rash to pronounce decisively upon matters, which God has not thought fit to reveal to us. The same may be said, with a proportionable degree of allowance, of the stories related by grave, sensible, judicious, and contemporary authors, who barely relate the facts, without entering into an examination of the circumstances, or a disquisition

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quisition concerning the manner in which the events happened; points, which they were not perhaps fully informed of themselves.

It has been already objected to me, that I quote poets and authors of little credit, in support of a question of so serious a nature, and which has been so much contested, as that of the apparitions of spirits. Such authorities, it is said, tend rather to make these apparitions doubtful, than to prove their reality.

But let it be observed I quote these authors only as witnesses of the opinions which generally prevailed in their time; and it is of consequence to shew, that the ancient Greeks and Romans held, that the souls of men were immortal, that they existed after the death of the body, and that there was another life, in which they received the reward of their good actions, or the punishment of their crimes.

These opinions, which we meet with in the poets, are found also in the fathers of the church, and in the heathen historians. Even in the Scripture there are hints of this sort, with some difference it must be owned, but at the bottom they amount to the same thing. For instance, what I have related of the *manes* or *lares*, of the evocation of
souls

souls after the death of the body, of their eagerness to come and suck the blood of sacrificed animals, of the shape of the soul when separated from the body, of its restless, unquiet state till the body is buried, of those superstitious waxen statues, which were devoted or consecrated under the name of certain persons, whom the magicians pretended to destroy, by burning or pricking these effigies; the flight of wizards and witches through the air, and their nocturnal assemblies; all these things are related both by philosophers and historians, as well as poets.

I know well what degree of credit is due to each, and I give them no more than they deserve. But it seems to me of some importance, in the discussion of this question, to explain, and confute at the same time, the superstitious prejudices which formerly prevailed among the common people, and to reduce the ornaments of fable to the standard of truth, by retrenching all that the poets have added to embellish their works, and amuse their readers.

Besides, I commonly relate these things, upon occasion only of certain facts advanced by historians, and other grave and judicious authors; and sometimes rather to enliven and embellish the subject, than to draw from them

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them any necessary consequences for establishing the doctrine, or to lay any stress upon them as certain facts, or giving weight to my narration.

I am sensible how little Lucian is to be depended upon in what he says upon this subject, since he mentions it only to laugh at it. Philostratus, Jamblicus, and some others deserve no greater regard; and I quote them only to confute them, or to shew to what a pitch a vain and foolish credulity has been carried on these subjects, which were treated as ridiculous by the most sensible men among the heathens themselves.

The consequences which I draw from these relations of historians and fictions of poets, and the manner in which I speak of them in the course of this Dissertation, is a sufficient proof that I look upon, and alledge that only as true and certain, which is so in fact; and that I have no view of imposing upon the reader, by relating things which I myself look upon as false, or very doubtful, or even as fabulous. But this ought to be no prejudice against the doctrine of the immortality of the soul, or of another life, nor against the reality of certain apparitions related in Scripture, or attested otherwise by good authorities. This is the sole design of my work.

Having accidentally met with a short Dissertation upon an event which happened at St. Maur, near Paris, in the year 1706, I thought proper to subjoin it to this work. It seems to be the production of an able pen, and by this means I have the satisfaction of rescuing it from the oblivion into which it was fallen.



APPROBATION.



APPROBATION.

I Have read, by order of my lord chancellor, a manuscript, entituled, *Dissertations upon the apparitions of angels, demons, and ghosts; and concerning the vampires of Hungary, Bobemia, Moravia, and Silesia*: a subject which required examination and criticism. The author, who is well known in the republick of letters, seems to have spared no pains to inform himself of the facts that concern his subject. His judicious reflections will display with equal lustre his critical abilities, and will undoubtedly secure the reader from a vain credulity, which disposes men to believe every thing, and from a dangerous scepticism, which disposes them to doubt of every thing.

Sorbonne,

December 16, 1745,

DE MARCILLY.

The King's Patent to the bookseller, to continue in force for six years.

LOUIS, par la grace de Dieu, Roi de France & de Navarre, &c.

Permisson

*Permission of the President and Superior-General of
the Congregation of St. Vanne and St. Hidulphe.*

WE, Dom Sebastian Guillemmin, president and superior-general of the congregation of St. Vanne and St. Hidulphe, of the order of St. Benedict, do make known, that, whereas the most reverend Father Dom Augustin Calmet, abbot of Senones, has communicated to us his design of publishing two Dissertations, one concerning the apparition of spirits, and another concerning the vampires of Hungary; and whereas nothing can come from the pen of this celebrated author but what must be very curious and very instructive, we have permitted, and by these presents do permit the said most reverend father abbot to cause the said Dissertations to be printed, after having obtained the usual approbations and permissions for that purpose.

Given at our abbey of St. Mansuy-les-Toul, on the 18th day of January, in the year 1746, under our ordinary seal of office, under our sign manual, and under that of our chancellor.

D. SEBASTIAN GUILLEMIN,
President.

By order of the most reverend father president,

D. JOHN MAGRON,
Chancellor.

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A Dissertation concerning Apparitions, occasioned by an Event which happened at St. Maur in the Year 1706. 340



A

DISSERTATION

UPON THE

APPARITIONS

O F

Angels, Dæmons, and Ghosts.

HERE is nothing more commonly talked of than apparitions of angels, dæmons, and ghosts. The reality of these apparitions passes for certain with a great number of people, while by as great a number, they are laughed at and treated as *reveries*. Several authors have writ upon this subject; some of which having read, I came to a resolution of examining into the matter myself, and of treating it with all the precision that I could. I shall therefore first prove the reality of several of these apparitions; and then examine into the manner in which they are effected, and upon what principles they may be explained. After which we shall be able to judge whether they are natural or miraculous events.

B

SECT.

SECT. I.

Apparitions of good and evil angels related in holy writ.

THE reality of apparitions is a question of fact; and therefore can be proved only by the testimony of those who have either seen, heard, or touched angels, dæmons, or ghosts; or who, in any other way, have been witnesses of certain apparitions, which can be attributed only to substances unincumbered with gross matter, whether good or evil angels, or souls that have left the body. For instance, if a person in a dream sees a friend, who acquaints him with a thing wholly unknown, whether past or future, and with his own death, I shall make no scruple of calling this an apparition.

Thus an angel appeared to St. Joseph in Egypt^a, and told him, that those who sought the life of the child Jesus were dead, and that he might return into Judea: this I look upon as an instance of the apparition of a good angel. The spectres which appeared to the Egyptians, during the darkness with which Moses smote the land of Egypt^b, were apparitions of evil angels. The writings of Moses^c are full of instances of apparitions of good spirits. The cherub, which was placed at the entrance of the terrestrial paradise, with a flaming sword, to hinder all access to it, was probably a good angel. The angels which appeared to Abraham, and promised Sarah the birth of a son,

^a Matt. ii. 13.

^c Gen. xvi. 7, 9. xix. 1,

^b Wisdom xvii. 4. Per-
sonæ tristes illis apparentes,
pavorem illis præstabant.

15. xxi. 17. xxii. 11. xxxi.
11. xxxii. 1. Exod. xiv. 19,
&c.

and which drew Lot^d out of Sodom, were certainly good angels, as was the angel which spoke to Agar^e in the wilderness; the angels which appeared to Jacob when he went into^f Mesopotamia; the angel that instructed him how^g to procure sheep of different colours; the angel that appeared and spoke to Balaam^h and his ass; the angel that wrestled with Jacobⁱ at Mahanaim, when he was returning from his journey into Mesopotamia; the angel that appeared in armour to Joshua, in the plain of Jericho, and declared himself^k captain of the host of the Lord; the angel that assured^l Gideon that he should deliver his people from the yoke of the Midianites; the angel that foretold to Manoah^m and his wife the birth of Samson; the angel that appeared overⁿ Jerusalem, in the time of David, and threatened to destroy the people of the Lord; the angel that appeared to^o Elijah, as he was on his way to Horeb; and commanded him some time after to meet the messengers which king^p Ahab had sent to consult the false god Baalzebub. It is commonly believed, that the^q angel of the Lord which destroyed the army of Sennacherib, was an evil angel, as was the angel whom God^r permitted to smite Job. It is said, that he presented himself before the Lord with the sons of God, that is to say, with the good angels. The Scripture does not say that he appeared to Job; but Job was too sensibly convinced of his presence, and felt his

^d Gen. xviii. Hebr. xiii. 2.^e Gen. xxi. 17.^f Gen. xxviii. 12.^g Gen. xxxi. 11.^h Numb. xxii. 22, 23.ⁱ Gen. xxxii. 1.^k Joshua v. 13, 14.^l Judges vi. 12, & seq.^m Judges xiii. & seq.ⁿ 1 Chron. xxi. 12.^o 1 Kings xix. 5.^p 2 Kings i. 3.^q 2 Kings xix. 35.^r Job i. 6, & seq.

power and malice, by the calamities which he heaped upon him.

The angel Raphael, that conducted young Tobias^a to Rages; the angel Gabriel that appeared to^b Daniel, and to the blessed virgin, and discovered to them things to come; the angel Michael, who is described as one of the principal ministers^c of the Lord, who *resisted the prince of Persia*, and *contended^x with the devil about the body of Moses*, and who is described as fighting against, and victorious over, *the^y dragon and his angels*, are all good angels. The whole prophecy of^z Zechariah is full of visions of angels.

In the first book of the Maccabees is mentioned an angel, who appeared at the head of the army of Israel, and fought on its side. In the second book of the Maccabees we are told, that Judas Maccabeus saw the high-priest Onias, and the prophet Jeremiah, who encouraged him, and the latter even gave him a sword for the defence of the people of the Lord^a.

In the books of the New Testament we find the same belief of the apparitions of angels, dæmons, and departed spirits. The angel of the Lord appeared to^b Zacharias, and foretold the birth of his son John the Baptist. The angel Gabriel signified to^c Mary the incarnation of the Son of God. An angel commanded^d *Joseph to take unto him Mary his wife*, and revealed to him the mystery of the incarnation. He afterwards commands him

^a Tob. iii. 17.

^b Dan. viii. 16. ix. 21.

Luke i. 19, 26.

^c Dan. x. 13, 21. xii. 1.

^x Jude 9.

^y Revel. xii. 7.

^z Zech. i. 9, 11, and ii.

3. iii. 1. iv. 1. v. 5. 10. vi.

4, 5, &c.

^a 2 Macc. xi. 6, 8. xv.

22. xvii. 12, 13, &c.

^b Luke i. 12.

^c Luke i. 26.

^d Matth. i. 20.

to fly into Egypt with Mary and his son, and to continue there ^c till *he brought him word* that he might return. After Jesus had been *led by the spirit into the wilderness, been tempted by the devil, and carried up upon a pinnacle of the temple, angels ^f came and ministered unto him.* In the garden of olives, *an angel ^g came and comforted him.* After his resurrection, angels ^h appeared and conversed with the holy women. In St. Luke ⁱ, angels appeared to the shepherds, and declared to them the nativity of the Saviour of the world. St. John relates ^k, that *an angel went down at a certain season into the pool of Bethesda, and troubled the water, and that whosoever first after the troubling of the water stepped in, was made whole of whatsoever disease he had.*

In the Acts of the apostles, the angels of the Lord opened ^l the gates of the prison where the apostles were confined, took off their chains, and commanded them to go and preach Jesus Christ in the temple. St. Luke, in the same book, says expressly, that it was an angel ^m which appeared to Moses in the burning bush; and St. Paul, to the Galatians ⁿ, says, *that the law was given by the mediation of angels.* It was an angel ^o that commanded Philip the deacon to go and instruct the eunuch, and ordered the centurion ^p Cornelius to send for Peter, that he *might learn the will of God.* The same St. Peter was visited ^q in prison by an angel, who took off his chains, opened the prison doors, and led him through a whole

^c Matth. ii. 13, 19.

^f Matth. iv. 1, 2, 3, 4,

& seq.

^g Luke xxii. 43.

^h Luke xxiv. 23. John

xx. 12.

ⁱ Luke ii. 11. 13.

^k John v. 4.

^l Acts v. 19.

^m Acts vii. 30, 35.

ⁿ Galat. iii. 19.

^o Acts viii. 26.

^p Acts x. 3, 7. xi. 13.

^q Acts xii. 8, 9.

street: and when Peter knocked at the gate of the house where the brethren were assembled, they could not believe that it was he, but said it was his *angel*.

St. Luke observes, that the Sadducees were looked upon by the other Jews * as erroneous in point of doctrine, because they believed neither angels nor spirits, while the Pharisees and other Jews confessed both. St. Paul, who was educated in the opinions of the Pharisees, held their doctrines with regard to angels, as appears † from his epistles. From him St. Luke learnt, that a man of Macedonia [without doubt the angel of Macedonia] appeared to him, and invited him to come and preach the gospel in that country ‡.

Upon the whole, the apostles believed the fall and reprobation of Lucifer and his angels, and the unshaken fidelity and everlasting security of the good angels. They believed, that *we are tempted by Satan, that he goeth about like a roaring lion seeking whom he may devour, and that he is transformed into an angel of light*. In the Revelation too there is frequent mention of angels, and of their appearing and conversing with St. John.

II.

That departed souls sometimes come again.

AS for the coming again of souls after the death of the body, the Scriptures suppose it in more places than one. For instance, when the " witch of Endor raised up Samuel at the command of Saul; whether Samuel was really

* Acts xxiii. 8, 9.

† Acts xvi. 9.

‡ 1 Cor. iv. 9. vi. 3.
Galat. iii. 19.

" 1 Sam. xxviii. 7.

raised up or not, whether his soul, or only a shadow, or even nothing at all appeared to the woman, it is still certain that Saul and his attendants, with the generality of the Hebrews, believed the thing to be possible. When Moses forbids enchanters, observers of times, and other sorts of diviners, he adds a prohibition of **necromancy*, or consulting the dead. He frequently makes mention *†* of persons that had familiar spirits, who discovered secrets by necromancy, and other unlawful and superstitious methods.

The other sacred writers speak of these things in the same manner. When our Saviour walked upon the sea, the apostles cried out for fear, saying, *‡ It is a spirit*. When the rich man desired *Abraham to send † Lazarus to testify unto his brethren, lest they also should come into that place of torment*, he evidently supposed it possible for the dead to come again, and converse with the living. Our Saviour in the gospel *‡* expressly refutes the error of the Sadduces, and proves the existence of souls after the death of the body. The apostle Thomas doubted not the possibility of Christ's appearing to his apostles with a subtile, aerial body; he only doubted whether he was risen again with flesh and blood. *‡ Except I shall see in his hands, says he, the print of the nails, and put my finger into the print of the nails, and thrust my hand into his side, I will not believe*. After his resurrection, the apostles at first supposed that they had seen a spirit; but Jesus assured them of the contrary,

** Deut. xviii. 11. Non erit qui quærat à mortuis veritatem*

† Lev. xx. 27. Deut. xviii. 11.

‡ Matth. xiv. 26. Mark vi. 49.

‡ Luke xvi. 27, 28.

‡ Matth. xxii. 25, & seq.

‡ John xx. 25.

saying, *' Behold my hands and my feet : handle me and see, for a spirit hath not flesh and bones as ye see me have.* After the death of our Saviour, *' many bodies of saints which slept arose, and appeared to many.* At the *' transfiguration* there appeared Moses and Elias talking with Christ. It is plain therefore that these opinions prevailed generally among the Jews, and neither Christ nor his apostles, nor, after them, the fathers of the church, took any pains to destroy or confute them. On the contrary, they have supposed, and in some degree authorised them, by their silence, their discourses, and their actions.

III.

The consequences which may be drawn from this doctrine.

THE reality therefore of the apparitions of angels, dæmons, and departed souls, cannot be denied, without destroying the authority of the Scriptures, which relate and suppose them. We may be permitted, however, to exercise our reason concerning the manner in which these apparitions were effected: as, whether they were real or imaginary; whether the angels had true, palpable, and material, or only subtile and aerial bodies, like condensed vapours, which made them appear to the senses as living persons, speaking, walking, eating, and acting like animated bodies; or whether they were mere phantoms, which imposed upon the senses of men; or whether it was a sort of fascination and illusion wrought upon the specta-

^a Luke xxiv. 39.
^b Matth. xxvii. 52.

^c Matth. xvii. 3. Luke ix. 30.

tors, who imagined that they saw, heard, and felt what existed only in their own imagination, as it sometimes happens in sleep, and even when we are awake; our ignorance of natural causes making us take that for real, which is only apparent. Thus when a stick is immersed in water, it appears crooked or broken, though there be no change in the stick, but only in the visual rays, and in the impresson which they make upon the eyes. Thus hypochondriack persons imagine that they are made of earth, snow, and ice; or that they are kings, popes, cardinals, wolves, cats, or dogs, and speak and act accordingly.

I cannot give a better solution of these difficulties than in the following words of St. Austin.

“ Who is there that can explain satisfactorily with
 “ what bodies angels have appeared to men, so
 “ as not only to be seen, but even felt . . . how
 “ they have appeared in dreams, and spoke as
 “ persons, whom we see in dreams, usually do?
 “ For it is certain that the holy angels have ap-
 “ peared in this manner, though they have not
 “ material bodies. Hence arises a question which
 “ it is very difficult to resolve; viz. how the
 “ patriarchs could wash their feet, or Jacob wrestle
 “ with an angel? in both which cases there must
 “ have been a tangible body. Disquisitions of
 “ this sort, though attended with doubt and dif-
 “ ficulty, afford an useful entertainment to the
 “ mind, provided we contain ourselves within the
 “ bounds of modesty, and do not unreasonably
 “ flatter ourselves with imagining that we know
 “ what we really do not know.

“ For what necessity is there, adds he, to af-
 “ firm or deny, or pronounce any thing peremp-
 “ torily concerning these matters, which we can-

"not decide without rashness, and which we may
 "be ignorant of without sin or any other incon-
 "venience?"

Without denying therefore what is certain, it is our duty to remain in silence, and frankly confess our ignorance of the manner in which apparitions are effected. It will be said, that this is not resolving the difficulty, or untying the knot which entangles us. I own it, but I at the same time assert, that God has not permitted us to know more. Whoever attempts to pry too far into the majesty of his works, will be oppressed by the splendor which beams from them. *Scrutator majestatis, opprimetur à gloria* ^b.

IV.

The certainty of the apparitions related in Scripture.

A Certain proof that the angels, devils, and ghosts, mentioned in Scripture, did not appear, at least in common, with gross material bodies, is, that they were seen only by those for whom God intended them. The angel which Moses saw and conversed with, and from whom he received the law in Horeb, was seen by him only. ¹ *Ye saw no manner of similitude*, says he to the Israelites, *on the day that the Lord spake unto you in Horeb*. The angel of the Lord which conducted the Israelites through the desert ^{*}, was seen only by Moses. It appears likewise, that the angel, which was seen by Balaam's ass, was not at first perceived by the ¹ prophet. The voice

^b Prov. xxv. 27. [Thus the vulgate translates this verse. The sense of it, in the other versions, is not easily discoverable.]

¹ Deut. iv. 15.

^{*} Exod. xiv. 19. xxiii. 20, &c.

¹ Numb. xxii. 22, 23, &c.

which

which was heard by Samuel, was not heard by the high-priest Eli, though he lay so near, that the young prophet imagined it was Eli that called him.

When the angel Gabriel was sent to reveal to Daniel the succession of the four great empires, he was seen by the prophet only. ^m *I Daniel alone saw the vision, for the men that were with me saw not the vision.* When the angel appeared to St. Paul on his journey to Damascus, St. Luke ^a observes, that the *men which journeyed with him heard a voice, but saw no man.* The angel which came down and troubled the water of the pool of Bethesda, probably was not visible to all the people; but they concluded he was come down, when they saw the water in motion; and then every one made haste to step in, or to get themselves put in by others. We may hence conclude, that these voices and apparitions were rather to the mind than to the senses; that they were not always distinct voices, material bodies, or tangible substances in human shape, which really went and came, and performed the common actions of ordinary men, but rather a sort of phantoms, which disappeared as soon as they had executed the errand upon which they were sent.

The dead ^p which *rose out of their graves* at our Saviour's resurrection, which *went into the holy city, and appeared unto many*, were real, material, tangible bodies. Some have imagined that they continued alive upon earth; but it is probable that they returned into their graves, where they wait for the general resurrection, as St. Peter expressly says of the prophet David ^q.

^m Dan. x. 7, 8.

ⁿ Acts ix. 7.

^p John v. 2, 4.

^p Matth. xxvii. 52, 53.

^q Acts ii. 29.

V.

Apparitions of the dead to the living.

NOtwithstanding this, there are apparitions which *have neither flesh nor bones*, as our Saviour teaches us. Consequently these are rather phantoms and aerial unsolid bodies, than bodies real, gross and terrestrial. Perhaps they are sometimes nothing more than ideas of corporeal figures excited in our imagination, without any real existence out of it, like the images which are presented to us in sleep, when we fancy ourselves to see, speak, hear, eat and drink, though in fact nothing of this kind happens.

VI.

Apparitions and revelations are not always sensible and corporeal.

THE same will hold good of revelations made by dreams, and in the night. For instance; when God said unto Abraham: *'Get thee out of thy country, and from thy kindred, and from thy father's house, unto a land that I will shew thee—* and when he said unto Jacob, *'Return unto thy country and to thy kindred, and I will deal well with thee—* and when God for the first time spoke to young Samuel, and bid him acquaint the high-priest Eli with the punishments which he had resolved to inflict upon his children—and when the angel of the Lord appeared to St. Joseph, and ordered him to take the child Jesus and his mother, and

* Luke xxiv. 39.

* Gen. xii. 1.

† Gen. xxxii. 9.

carry them into Egypt, to avoid the violence of Herod. In the same class may be ranked the several relations in Scripture of either God or angels speaking, though the persons present did not hear the voice at all, or at most only a confused noise, and not a distinct and articulate voice: as when Jesus was speaking to the Jews, a voice was heard from heaven, saying, *"I have both glorified it, and will glorify it again. The people therefore that stood by and heard it, said that it thundered; others said, An angel spake to him. Jesus answered and said, This voice came not because of me, but for your sakes."*

In all these instances, and many others of the same kind, it does not appear that any words were really uttered by angels; but only that those to whom God intended to reveal his will were permitted to hear voices, in dreams or otherwise, which made the same impression upon their organs, as if angels or other beings had really spoke. This observation may be applied to a great number of instances related by the sacred and prophane historians, who make mention of articulate voices being actually heard, though probably the persons only fancied they heard them. This however is no proof that these voices, orders, or intimations, did not really come from God, who acted either immediately, or by the intervention of angels, upon the senses of those to whom these revelations were made. For various are the methods by which Providence reveals its will to men; sometimes by immediate revelations to the prophets; sometimes by internal inspirations; at other times by dreams, or words, or external signs; or lastly, by a sort of impression upon the senses or imagination of a person, even without the instrumentality of any external object.

* John xii. 29, 30.

VII.

That we sometimes do not discern objects that are immediately before our eyes.

NOW, as we frequently imagine that we see or hear, though there are no objects present to excite those sensations, so it sometimes happens that we neither see nor hear things that are really visible and audible. For example, the inhabitants of Sodom, who surrounded the house of Lot, could not find the ^x door, being struck by the angels with a sort of blindness. The soldiers also which sought Elisha ^y, were affected with a sort of blindness, though their eyes were open, since they spoke to the prophet, and were led by him to Samaria, without knowing any thing of the matter. The disciples who went to Emmaus with Jesus, knew him only by his breaking bread; *for their eyes were holden that they should not know him^z.*

It is therefore very possible for a person, whether asleep or awake, to fancy that he sees and hears what is only ideal and imaginary; and, on the contrary, neither to see nor hear what is really to him audible and visible, as appears from the instances just quoted.

We may hence infer, that the apparitions related in the Old and New Testament, were frequently nothing but impressions made upon the imagination and senses of persons, in the same manner as if the objects had been really present; or an angel or other spirit had actually spoken or appeared to the person, either asleep or awake. Now it seems to me equally difficult to hinder a person from see-

^x Gen. xix. 11.

^y 2 Kings vi. 18, & seq.

^z Luke xxiv. 16.

ing what is present before his eyes, and to make him see what is not so. Both the one and the other are effects of a supernatural power. To suspend the action of our senses, and hinder them from performing their functions according to the common laws of nature; or to make impressions upon them in the absence of the natural objects, just as if these were really present; all this cannot be effected without some sort of miracle.

VIII.

The reality of apparitions proved by the fulfilling of predictions.

BUT we cannot conclude from hence, that all the apparitions related in holy writ were merely ideal, and the effect of strong impressions upon the imagination, or the creatures of a prepossessed mind and heated brain, like what happens in sleep, when we fancy that we see, hear, speak, and act, though in reality we do none of these.

A demonstrative proof that the greater part of the visions and apparitions above-mentioned were real, and proceeded from God only, who either wrought, or permitted, or effected them by the ministry of angels, is the certainty of some predictions, and the reality of the events which followed them, as also the truth of some circumstances both past and future, which were otherwise unknown, and have been known and discovered in these visions.

The angels which appeared to Abraham, assured him that he should have a son born within a year; they discovered that Sarah, though absent, laughed at this promise; and they foretold the approaching destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah. Can it now be said that all this was ideal, and existed only

only in Abraham's imagination? The same may be said of God's foretelling to Moses, that he should deliver the Israelites out of Egypt, that he should work miracles in the presence of Pharaoh, that the heart of this prince should be hardened, and that he would not let the Israelites go, till he was forced by the hand of God.

Can it be said, that the word of the Lord, which was heard three several times by Samuel, and revealed to him the calamities which were to fall upon the family of Eli, and which did actually fall upon it, was nothing but a mere dream? The birth of Samson, and of John the Baptist, so clearly foretold by angels, and so punctually fulfilled, were certainly something more than dreams and imaginations.

A dream continues only during sleep; when we wake, we perceive it to have been nothing real; its consequences are never to be depended on, nor have they any characters of truth. Even when dreams continue for a whole night, or return oftener than once, as they sometimes do, they are followed by no real event, (except they are sent by God, as were the dreams of Pharaoh explained by Joseph, or those of Nebuchadnezzar interpreted by Daniel) and have little attention paid them; they last only for a short time, and leave but a slight impression. But the apparition of the angels to Abraham and Lot, continued at least two days and a night; and that of Raphael to Tobias several weeks. And it is incredible that Tobias, who travelled, conversed, eat and drank with the angel all that time, should not wake and discover that it was only a dream and an illusion.

Is it possible that Moses and Elias, who appeared with our Saviour upon mount Tabor, or the dead which arose from their graves at the instant when our Saviour gave up the ghost, should be

only phantoms formed in the imagination of the Jews and apostles? Or are the numerous stories related by grave, judicious, and cotemporary authors, of departed souls which sometimes appear, foretell future events, or reveal such as are already past, but were absolutely unknown, and sometimes desire prayers, or command restitutions to be made; are all these, I say, mere chimeras, the dreams and illusions of prepossessed minds?

IX.

Opinions of the eastern nations concerning the apparitions of angels, and the coming again of departed souls.

I Come now to prove the reality, or at least the belief of the reality of these apparitions, by facts drawn from writers of all nations and all ages. The Mahometans, as well as the Jews and Christians, believe that angels appear sometimes to men in a human form; that they appeared to Abraham, preserved Lot, and destroyed the inhabitants of Sodom. They believe that the souls of men continue near the bodies which they formerly animated, and even in the same grave, till the day of judgment. They assert that the archangel Gabriel appeared to Mahomet, and revealed to him the things contained in the Alcoran; that Solomon^d was served and obeyed by dæmons, as if they had been his slaves, or hired servants. They hold the genii or dæmons to be of a middle nature between angels and men, and to have pro-

^a Alcoran. Surat. vi. p. 245.
Edit. Maracc.

^b Maracc. p. 625.

^c Alcor. Surat. liii. p. 684.

^d Ibid. Surat. xxvii. The same is asserted also in Solomon's pretended will.

perties in common with each; that they eat, drink, propagate their species, and die like men; and that they know future events like angels. Some are of opinion that they are begot by the devil, and they call them *Gimi* * which is the same as *Genius*.

They give the name of *Fagia* or *Mefagian* to a sort of spirits who take away the lives of men. The sultan Moctadi Bemvilla, as he rose one day from table, said to one of his wives who was present; Who are these people that are come in here without leave? Upon looking round, she could see no one, but observed that the king grew pale, and immediately he fell down dead. The Mahometans believe that these manslaying spirits, whenever they appear, always give mortal wounds.

The Persians, and some of the Turks, are of opinion, that there are males and females among these genii. The males, whom the Persians call *Dives*, are mischievous and extremely ugly, and generally in a state of war with the *Peris*, their females', which are much the same with the fairies in our old romances. The rabbins believe that these *gimim* or genii were born of Adam without the concurrence of Eve, or any other woman; and that they are the same with what † we call goblins, which may be extended to include the spectres, furies, and empuses ‡ of the Greeks and Romans.

* Vid. Alcor. Surat. lxxii.
& notas Maracc. M. D'Her-
belot Bibliotheq. Orient. in
Moctadi Bemvilla. p. 592.

† D'Herbelot. Biblioth. Ori-
ent. Peri & Dives.

‡ Ibid. p. 243.

§ Ibid. p. 785. Scheitan.

X.

Opinions of the Hebrews, and of ancient and modern Christians concerning the appearing of departed souls.

THESE opinions of the eastern nations, some of the primitive Christians, who held that angels and devils have bodies, and are capable of generation; and applied to them that text in Genesis, where it is said, ¹ *that the sons of God* (that is, the angels) *saw the daughters of men that they were fair, and went in unto them and begat mighty men.* The famous book of Enoch, which was in high authority with ² several of the ancient fathers, clearly taught ¹ this doctrine, which indeed prevailed much among the ancients.

The modern Jews hold the souls of men to be spiritual and immortal, but that they sometimes appear again, as well as angels and devils; that the souls of the Hebrews are never visible, either in hell or paradise, except their bodies are buried; that ³ even after they are buried, the soul makes frequent excursions from its destined residence to visit its former body, and enquire into its condition; that it wanders about for a full year after its first separation from the body; and that it was before the expiration of this year, that the witch of Endor called up the soul of Samuel, and that she would have lost this power after the year was out.

¹ Gen. vi. 2, &c.

² Vid. apud Fabric. cod. apocrip. Vet. Test. D'Herbelot. Bibl. Orient. p. 245.

³ Clem. Alex. Orig. Tertull. Iren. &c. Apud Fabric.

in codice Vet. Test. p. 160, & seq.

⁴ Bereschit. Rabba, c. xxii. Talmud. Tract. Sanhedrin. c. iv. Vide Manasse Ben-Israel de Resur. Mort. l. ii. c. 6.

Origen and Theophylact sayⁿ, that the Jews and heathens believed the soul to continue near the body for some time after the death of the person; and that it was to destroy this opinion, that our Saviour cried with a loud voice: *Lazarus, come forth.*

Some of the rabbins hold that, after death, the souls of the wicked are clothed with a sort of integument or upper garment, in which they habituate themselves to suffering; but that the souls of the righteous are clothed with a magnificent habit, and resplendent body, which serves to prepare them for the brightness of their future glory. They believe farther, that the soul is not admitted into heaven till the gross body is buried, and entirely consumed: an opinion which has past from the Hebrews to the Greeks and Latins.

XI.

Opinions of the heathens concerning the appearing of departed souls.

LUCAN, in his ° *Pharsalia*, introduces Pompey consulting a forcerefs, and commanding her to call up a departed soul, that he might learn from her his future fortune.

The words which the poet gives her are these: Ye Manes, obey my prayers. I summon not a soul which has been long accustomed to the dark mansions of Tartarus, but one that is lately descended among you, and is still at the gates of hell.

ⁿ Origen, in Joan. xi. 43. Theophylact, *ibid.* See also my Dissertation on the nature of the soul, according to the

Hebrews, and on the Hebrew funerals.

° Lucan, l. vi.

Parete precanti :

*Non in tartareo latitantem poscimus antro
Assuetamque diu tenebris; modò luce fugatâ
Descendentem animam; primo pallentis biatu
Hæret adhuc Orci.*

XII.

Opinions of the northern nations.

IT was a prevailing persuasion among the ancient northern nations, that apparitions were the souls of persons lately deceased; and their way to hinder their appearing any more, was either to behead, empale, or burn the body, as is still the custom in Greece, Hungary, and Moravia. Thus the sorcerers in Lucan above-mentioned promises the spirit, which she raised up, to reward him by burning his body, so that he should never more be disturbed by other exorcisms.

When Xerxes, king of Persia^a, was deliberating whether he should carry the war into Greece, he was strongly dissuaded from it by Artabanus, his uncle by the father's side; but Xerxes being offended at his freedom, treated him with very rough language. The night after, he reflected seriously upon Artabanus's reasons, and altered his resolutions; but falling asleep, he saw in a dream a man of uncommon stature and beauty, who said to him: You have then laid aside your design of making war upon the Greeks, though you have already given orders to the Persian commanders to

^p Vid. Bartholin. de Causis contemptus mortis, l. ii. c. 2. p. 265.

^a Herodot. l. vii.

assemble your army. You have done wrong in altering your resolution: though no one else should be of your opinion, take my advice, and pursue your first resolution. Having said this, the vision disappeared.

The next day the king re-assembled his council, and without saying any thing of his dream, expressed himself sorry for what he had said the day before to Artabanus, and declared that he had laid aside his design of making war upon Greece: upon which, all who were present prostrated themselves before him with the utmost joy, and retired.

The next night the same spectre appeared to him a second time, and said: Son of Darius, thou hast then given up thy design of declaring war against Greece, without paying any attention to my advice. Know, that if thou dost not immediately undertake this expedition, thou shalt soon be reduced to a state as much below that of the common herd of mankind, as thy present state is above it. Upon this the king immediately got out of bed, and sent for Artabanus, to whom he related his two dreams, adding, I insist upon it, that you put on my royal robes, seat yourself upon my throne, and afterwards lie down in my bed. If the spectre appears to you also, I shall look upon it as ordained by the gods, and submit to their decrees.

All the excuses that Artabanus could make were in vain. He alledged that it was all to no purpose, if the gods had resolved to declare their will, that his putting on the royal robes would look like a design of deceiving the gods, and be a means of provoking their displeasure; and, in short, that dreams were things which deserved no attention, being generally nothing but a second representation of what had made a strong impression upon the waking thoughts of men. The king, however, was not convinced by these reasons, and

Artabanus complied with his request, being persuaded, that if the same thing appeared again, it would be a proof of the will of heaven, and of the reality of the king's dream. He therefore lay down in the king's bed, where the same spectre appeared to him, and said: It is by you then that Xerxes is hindered from executing his resolution, and fulfilling the decrees of fate. I have already informed the king what he has to expect, if he delays to obey my orders. At these words the spectre seemed to advance towards Artabanus, in order to burn his eyes with a hot iron. Upon this he immediately started out of bed, and acquainted Xerxes with what he had seen, adding, I entirely alter my opinion: since it is the will of the gods that we should enter into this war, and the Greeks are threatened with great calamities, issue out your orders, and make all necessary preparations for the war: which was accordingly done.

The fatal consequence of this war, which ended in the destruction of the Persian monarchy, affords a presumption that this apparition, if real, was some evil spirit, an enemy to that monarchy, and sent by God to make way for the events foretold by the prophets, and for the succession of the great monarchies, as preordained by the decrees of the Almighty.

There is a story told by Cicero[†] of two Arcadians, who travelling together, came to Megara, a city of Greece, between Athens and Corinth; where one of them lodged at a friend's house, and the other at an inn. After supper, the person who lodged at the private house retired to bed, and falling asleep, dreamed that his friend at the inn appeared to him, and begged his assistance, because

[†] Cicero de Divinat. l. i.

the innkeeper was going to kill him. The man immediately got out of bed, much frightened at the dream; but recovering himself, and falling asleep again, his friend appeared to him a second time, and desired, that since he would not assist him in time, he would take care, at least, not to let his death go unpunished: that the innkeeper having murdered him, had thrown his body into a cart, and covered it with dung; he therefore begged him to be at the city-gate in the morning, before the cart went out. Struck with this new dream, he went early to the gate, saw the cart, and asked the driver what was in it. The driver immediately fled; the dead body was taken out of the cart, and the innkeeper apprehended and executed.

Cicero has recorded some other instances of apparitions of this kind, which have happened in sleep; particularly one of Sophocles, and another of Simonides. The former in a dream saw Hercules, who told him the name of a thief that had stole a golden cup out of his temple. Sophocles at first neglected this information, as the effect of nothing but a disturbed sleep; till the god appeared to him a second time, and repeated the intelligence. Upon this Sophocles made information against the thief, who was found guilty by the court of the Areopagites; and ever after, the name of *Hercules the Revealer* was given to that temple.

Simonides's dream or apparition was of more personal service to him. As he was just going to take ship, he found the body of a stranger lying upon the shore, and out of humanity gave it a burial. The night after, the dead man appeared to Simonides, and advised him not to embark in that vessel, which he said would certainly be shipwrecked. Simonides took his advice, and a
few

few days after learnt, that the ship in which he intended to sail had actually been cast away.

Johannes Picus*, prince of Mirandola, in his treatise *De Auro*, assures us, that a man, whose circumstances were always mean, was at last reduced to the utmost extremity, so as to be unable either to pay his debts, or to support a numerous family in a time of great scarcity. So many cares, however, did not hinder him from falling asleep, when he dreamed that there appeared to him a spirit from paradise, which taught him a secret for making gold, and told him what water he must make use of, in order to succeed in the experiment. When he awoke, he followed the spirit's direction, and it succeeded. The quantity that he made was indeed but small, sufficient however to supply the necessities of his family. He afterwards made the experiment twice with iron, and three times with yellow arsenick: and he gave me ocular proof, says Picus, that there is such a thing as an art of making gold.

XIII.

Opinions of Christian writers concerning apparitions in general.

THE writings both of the primitive and later Christians are full of stories of apparitions of angels, dæmons, and spirits; and it cannot reasonably be doubted, but this doctrine was received and taught among them from the beginning, as derived from Christ and his apostles. The council of Elvira, held about the year 300, forbids the lighting of tapers by day in churchyards, for fear of disturbing the spirits of the saints.

* Johann. Picus Mirandul. de Auro, l. iii. c. 2.

The fathers of this council must therefore have believed, that the souls of departed saints frequented the coemeteries, where their bodies were buried.

There are many who believe, that daemons are fond of the company of women; and that they sometimes serve as instruments to gratify the lust of men. In the former case they are called *Incubi*; in the latter *Succubi*; and of both sorts there are extant several stories, the truth of which St. Austin thinks cannot reasonably be disputed. Now they who believe these things, must also acknowledge devils to have bodies, or at least that they appear in these cases with real and palpable bodies.

XIV.

Instances of dead men raised to life for a little time.

ST. Augustin^u relates, that, during his residence at Milan, a young man having an action brought against him for a debt which his father had already discharged, but had mislaid the receipt; the soul of the father appeared to the son, and told him where the receipt was, which gave him so much uneasiness.

St. Macarius^z, of Egypt, is recorded to have raised a dead man to life, in order to bear witness to the innocence of a person who was accused of having been his murderer. The dead man cleared the accused, but would not name the person that had really committed the fact.

^u Augustin. de Civitat. lib. xv. c. 23.

^z Rosweid in Vit. Patrum, l. ii. p. 480.

^v Aug. de Cura pro mortuis.

The same ¹ St. Macarius forced another dead man, who had been buried some considerable time, to discover a sum of money which had been committed to his care, and which he had hid without his wife's knowledge. The dead man declared, that it was hid at the foot of the bed.

Another story of ² St. Macarius is, that having made use of several arguments to convert an Eunomian, or as others say, an Hieracitan heretick, but all to no purpose, he at last said to him, Let us go to the grave of some dead man, and ask him to tell us which is in the right. The heretick durst not accept the challenge; but St. Macarius went to the grave, accompanied by a great number of people, who ran together at such an uncommon sight. The saint put his questions to the dead man, who answered out of the grave, that if the heretick had appeared in the assembly, he would have got up to confute him, and bear witness to the truth. After which, St. Macarius commanded him to sleep on till the general resurrection.

Ruffinus says, that this dead man was a monk lately deceased: Cassian, on the contrary, says, that it was an old Egyptian heathen, who died long before the coming of our Saviour. For authors differ concerning the circumstances of this fact, as is generally the case when they trust to their memory in their narrations; and I believe, that out of one story they frequently make two or three.

The same ³ St. Macarius is said to have interrogated a scull, which he found in the desert, and which belonged to an heathen priest of Egypt,

¹ Rosweid in Vit. Patrum, p. 480.

Pallad. Nicephor. Evagr. seu Ruffin. & alii.

² Cassian, Collat. xv. c. 3. & Sozom. l. iii. c. 13.

³ Apophthegm. SS. Patrum apud Rosweid, p. 546.

who

who told him, that the souls of wicked men, and even unbelievers, received some alleviation of their torments, when good men, like Macarius, were touched with compassion at the pains they suffered in hell; but that this alleviation consisted only in a permission to see one another; and that at all other times they dwelt in frightful darkness, without seeing their fellow-sufferers, or any thing else.

XV.

Whether there be any hope of salvation for heathens dying unconverted, or for wicked Christians dying in mortal sin.

THIS last story, whatever credit it meets with, is not the only instance which seems to prove that some of the ancients were of opinion, that even heathens, and wicked Christians, though they died in mortal sin, or in a state of impenitence or excommunication, were not absolutely deprived of all hopes of relief, and even of pardon, by means of the prayers of pious Christians. I have formerly discussed this question pretty fully in a dissertation upon St. Paul's epistle to the Romans; and shewn that several of the ancient fathers believed that our Saviour, at his descent into hell, declared his coming into the world both to the Jews and Gentiles there, and carried up with him into heaven such as believed in his preaching. Ancillon^b shews that several doctors have taught that Aristotle was saved; and Voetius has writ a whole treatise *De salute Aristotelis*.

To the above-mentioned story of St. Macarius, may be added that of St. Thecla^c, who procured

^b Ancillon, t. i. Melanges, p. 193, 194, 195.

^c Vid. Grabbe, Vit. Sanctæ Theclæ.

the salvation of Falconilla, though she died a heathen; and that of Trajan^d, who is said to have been saved by the prayers of St. Gregory the Great; and that of St. Odilia^e, who delivered from hell the soul of her father duke Atthicus, who died impenitent; and lastly, that of the son of the king or governor of Toul in Lorrain, who was raised to life by St. Mansuetus^f, the first bishop of that city, and after his resurrection gave a description of the torments of the damned, which he himself had seen and felt in hell. I will not answer for the truth of all these facts; but I infer from them, that the relaters of them believed the salvation of infidels to be neither incredible or impossible; and that this opinion was not absolutely condemned in their time. There are now extant in some ancient books, prayers for the relief of heathens killed in war; *ut mitius ardeant*.

St. Spiridion^g, bishop of Trimitus in Egypt, had a daughter named Irene, who continued a virgin to her death. After her decease, a person came to claim something which he had entrusted to her keeping, without her father's knowledge. After they had searched all the house without finding it, Spiridion went to his daughter's grave, and calling her by her name, Irene; she answered, What do you please to have, Sir? Where have you put the thing, says he, which such a one left in your keeping? You will find it buried, says she, in such a place: and upon searching there it was found, and restored to the owner.

^d Vit. S. Gregor. Papæ, p.

14.

^e Vit. S. Odiliæ, Sæcul. 3. Bened. parte ii. p. 492.

^f Vit. S. Mansueti Tall. t. i. Hist. de Lorr. p. 91. preuves.

^g Sozom. Hist. Eccles. l. i. c. 11.

A pious abbot, named Æmilius^a, raised to life a man who had been murdered, in order to justify an innocent monk that was accused of the crime. The abbot, having first prayed to God, asked the dead man who had killed him. He answered, I entrusted a sum of money to the care of a friend; but he murdered me, kept the money for himself, and carried my body to a neighbouring monastery, in order to conceal his crime, and make this monk suspected of it. I desire you will get my money from him, and give it to my children. Æmilius then said to him: Sleep in peace till the Lord comes to raise you up at the last day; upon which he fell asleep again, and died.

XVI.

Opinions of the ancient Greeks and Romans concerning the return of departed souls, and their being called up by magick.

THE ancient Greeks, who had derived their religion and theology from the Egyptians and eastern nations, and the Latines who had borrowed theirs from the Greeks, were all firmly persuaded that the souls of the dead appeared sometimes to the living, that they could be called up by necromancers, that they answered questions, and gave notice of future events; that Apollo gave oracles, and that the priestess, filled with his spirit, and transported with a holy enthusiasm, uttered infallible predictions of things to come. Homer, the most ancient of all the Greek writers, and their greatest divine, relates ^a several appariti-

^a De vitis PP. l. ii. p. 650.

¹ Odyss. xi. sub fin. Vid. Horat. l. i. sat. 8. Aug. de Civ. l. vii. c. 33. Clem. Alex.

Pedag. l. ii. c. 1. Prud. l. i. contra Symmachum. Tertull. lib. de Animâ. Laet. l. ii.

ons, not only of gods, but of dead men and heroes. In the *Odyssey*, he introduces Ulysses consulting Tereſias, who having prepared a pit full of blood, in order to call up the Manes, Ulyſſes draws his sword to hinder them from drinking the blood, of which they were very thirsty, till they had answered the questions proposed to them. It was also a prevailing opinion, that the souls of men enjoyed no repose, but wandered about near their carcaſſes as long as they continued unburied^k. Even after they were buried, it was a custom to offer them something to eat, eſpecially honey, upon a ſuppoſition that after having left their graves, they came to feed upon what was brought^l them. They believed alſo, that the dæmons were fond of the ſmoke of ſacrifices, of muſick, of the blood of victims, and the commerce of women; and that they were confined for a determinate time to certain houſes or other places, which they haunted, and in which they appeared.

They held that ſouls, when ſeparated from their groſs and terreſtrial bodies, ſtill retained a finer and more ſubtile body, of the ſame form with that which they had quitted; that theſe bodies were luminous like the ſtars; that they retained an inclination for the things which they had loved in their life-time, and frequently appeared^m about their graves. When the ſoul of Patroclus appeared to Achilles, it had his voice, his ſhape, his eyes, and his dreſs, but not the ſameⁿ tangible body. Ulyſſes relates, that when he went down into hell,

^k Virgil. *Æneid*. l. vi. de Palinuro & Miſeno.

^l Aug. Serm. xv. de ſanctis & quæſt. in Deut. l. v. c. 47.

Vid. Spencer de Legib. Hebr. ritual.

^m Orig. Præm. l. i. de Princip. Idem. l. vii.

ⁿ *Iliad*. xxiii.

he saw the *divine Hercules*°, that is, adds he, *his image*; for he himself is admitted to the banquets of the immortal gods. Dido says, that after death she, that is, her image bigger than the life, shall go down to the infernal regions.

Et nunc magna mei sub terras ibit imago°.

And Æneas knew his wife Creusa, who appeared to him in her usual shape, but of a taller and nobler stature than when she was alive.

*Infelix simulacrum, atque ipse umbra Creusæ
Visa mihi ante oculos, & nota major imago*°.

In the speech which Titus made to his soldiers, to persuade them to mount to the assault of the tower Antonia at Jerusalem, he uses this argument: Who knows not that the souls of those who bravely expose themselves to danger, and die in war, are exalted to the stars, and there received into the highest region of heaven, and appear as good genii to their relations; while they who die of sickness, though they have lived good lives, are plunged into oblivion and darkness under earth, and are no more remembered after death, than if they had never existed.

° Odyss. xi.

° Virg. Æneid. iv.

° Æn. ii.

° Joseph. de Bello Jud. l. vi.

c. i.

XVII.

Opinions of the ancient Greek and Latin fathers concerning the return of departed souls.

WE find that Origen, Tertullian, and St. Irenæus, were clearly of this opinion. Origen, in his second book against Celsus, relates and subscribes to the opinion of Plato, who says, that the shadows and images of the dead, which are seen near sepulchres, are nothing but the soul disengaged from its gross body, but not yet entirely freed from matter; that these souls become in time luminous, transparent, and subtile, or rather are carried in luminous and transparent bodies, as in a vehicle, in which they appear to the living^a. Origen makes no doubt but St. Thomas believed it possible for our Saviour's *soul* to appear to Mary: and only questioned whether Christ was risen again with his proper natural *body*^b.

Tertullian, in his book^c concerning the soul, asserts, that it is corporeal, and of a certain figure; and appeals to the experience of those who have seen apparitions of departed souls, and to whom they have appeared as corporeal and tangible, though of an aerial colour and consistence. He defines the soul to be a breath from God, immortal, corporeal, and of a certain figure. St. Irenæus^d delivers it as a doctrine received from Christ, that the souls of men not only exist after the death of the body (without passing from one body to another) but that they retain the shape of their body, and watch over it as faithful guardians; that they remember all that they have either

^a Suidas in Αὐτοισίδης.

^c Tertull. de Animâ.

^b Origen, l. ii. contra Celsum.

^d Irenæus, l. ii. c. 34.

done or omitted to do in this life; and he appeals to the story of the rich man and Lazarus in the Gospel^e, as a proof of it.

For my own part, I do not adopt these opinions, nor believe the souls of men to be corporeal, material, visible, or clothed with luminous bodies. I only quote these authors to shew, that the apparitions of souls, after the death of the body, is an uninterrupted and ancient tradition, founded upon facts; an opinion supported by the old philosophy, and even by some texts of Scripture, understood by several ancient writers in this sense; in a word, an opinion not entirely exploded at present, but still maintained by a sort of modern philosophers^f.

XVIII.

Evocation of departed souls. Instances of it.

WE are told by Pliny^e, that Appion raised up the soul of Homer, in order to learn from him his country and his parents; but that Appion durst not publish what he learnt. ^h Philostratus says, that Apollonius Tyanæus came to the tomb of Achilles, raised his manes, and begged that the figure of the hero might appear to him; that upon this the tomb shook, and there appeared a young man of five cubits, that is, seven feet and a half high; that the phantom soon increased to twelve cubits, and assumed an extraordinary beauty.

^e Luke xvi. 20, & seq.

^f See a dissertation de *Angelicis substantiis non merè spiritualibus*, printed in 4to in 1737. And another work lately printed in 8vo, entitled, *Essai d'un système nouveau con-*

cernant la nature des etres spirituels. At Neufchatel in 1742. and Mr. Locké of human understanding.

^g Plin. l. iii. c. 2.

^h Philostrat. Vit. Apollon.

Apollonius

Apollonius put some trivial questions to him, but finding that the young man trifled in a very indecent manner, he discovered that he was possessed with a devil, which Apollonius cast out. But these are fables.

Lactantius¹, where he is arguing against the philosophers, Democritus, Epicurus, and Dicaearchus, who denied the immortality of the soul, says, that they would not dare to maintain their opinion before a magician, who by the secrets of his art can raise up souls from hell, and make them appear, speak, foretell future events, and give other undoubted proofs of their presence.

St. Austin², always cautious in his decisions, does not venture to pronounce whether magicians have a power by their enchantments of raising departed souls, or not; but Tertullian³, who is less reserved, asserts that no magick can make the souls of the saints quit their happy abodes; that the power of necromaneers is nothing but raising a sort of phantom with a borrowed body, which imposes upon the eyes, and makes them take that for real which is only apparent. In the same place he quotes Heraclides for saying, that the Nalamonies, a people of Africa, pass the night near the graves of their relations, in order to receive oracles from them; and that the Celtae, or Gauls, do the same near the monuments of their great men, as Nican-der reports.

¹ Laet. l. vi. c. 13. Divin. Instit.

² Aug. ad Simplicianum.

³ Tertull. de Animâ, c. 57.

XIX.

Apparitions of good angels, and guardian angels.

AS for apparitions of good angels, they are very common both in the Old and New Testament, and all other histories. St. Stephen, in the Acts of the Apostles ^m, says, that *the law was given to Moses by angels*; and the ⁿ fathers in general teach, that the beings which appeared to Moses and Abraham were angels, representatives of the Almighty, and speaking in his name. In the New Testament they appear also, but it is in their own name: thus Gabriel appeared to Mary; an angel spake to Joseph in a dream; angels ministered to our Saviour after his temptation in the wilderness; an angel comforted him ^o in his agony; angels published his resurrection, and appeared to the holy women; an angel delivered St. Peter out of prison; and so of the rest. Our Saviour teaches us, that every man has a guardian angel assigned to him from his infancy. Good angels have often appeared to the holy martyrs and hermits. St. Anthony ^p could distinguish their apparitions from those of evil spirits, by the comfort, the tranquillity, the confidence, and peace which they inspired; while the evil angels left nothing behind them but trouble and uneasiness in the minds of those to whom they appeared.

^m Acts vii. 38.

ⁿ Tertull. advers. Judæos, c. 9. De carne Christi. c. vi. l. 2. & 3. Cont. Marcion. Justin Martyr Dialog. Aug. l. iii. De Trinit. c. 11. D.

Thom. Quæst. 6. de Potent. Art. 7. ad. 3.

^o Luke xxii. 43.

^p Vit. Ant. per Athanas. c. 18.

We are told, in the life of St. Martin writ by Sulpicius Severus^q, that the saint having communicated with the Ithacians at Treves, was extremely sorry for what he had done; and that as he was going to Audetanna, now called Eternach, having retired from the company to bewail his fault, his angel appeared to him, and told him, that he had indeed done wrong, and had reason to be sorry, but that he should not suffer himself to be oppressed by grief, nor give way to despair. St. Frances had always her good angel near her, that he was visible to her, and suggested to her the good she should do, and diverted her from evil; he sometimes even chastised and struck her before company, who heard plainly the blows he gave her, but never saw the angel.

It is a doctrine of Plato^r, that, as the care of flocks is not entrusted to beasts, but men; so the care of men is entrusted to dæmons. The name of dæmons was so far from being odious or dishonourable among the ancients, that Plato^r applies it to the gods. Apuleius^t, after Plato, says, that a dæmon is assigned to every man to be the invisible witness of his actions, and even of his most secret thoughts. That immediately after death, the dæmon carries the soul before her judge, where he either accuses her, or pleads in her behalf, and that the judge pronounces sentence according to the testimony of the dæmon. Philo Judæus^u acknowledges, that Moses usually gives the name of angel to what the philosophers call dæmons.

^q Sulp. Sever. Vit. S. Martini, c. 15.

^r Plato de Legibus, l. iv.

^t Idem in Timæo.

^u Apuleius de Deo Socratis.

^v Philo de Gigantib.

XX.

Of familiar spirits.

BODINUS * relates a story of a person whom he knew, and who was alive at the time of his writing (which was in 1580) that had a familiar spirit, which from the time that he was thirty-seven years old, was daily giving him good advice about his behaviour, sometimes correcting his faults, sometimes prompting him to virtuous actions, sometimes resolving the difficulties which he met with in reading the Scriptures, and sometimes giving him useful advice concerning his private affairs. The spirit generally knocked at his door at three or four in the morning, to make him get up, but the man being distrustful of all these kind offices, and fearing it might be an evil angel, the spirit discovered itself to him once in broad daylight, striking gently first on a glass-cup, and then on a bench. When he was going to do any thing that was good or useful, the spirit touched him on the right ear; when any thing bad or hurtful, it touched him on the left ear; so that from that time nothing happened to him, which he was not before apprized of. If he was going to read any bad book, the spirit let him know it, by touching the book. But this angel was particularly careful in making him rise at four in the morning to say his prayers, in giving him notice of any bad designs that were formed against him, and in keeping him out of the way of several dangers, to which he would have been otherwise exposed. The man sometimes heard the spirit's voice, and one day,

* Bodin, *Dæmonoman*, l. i. c. 2. fol. 10, 11.

being

being in great danger of his life, he saw him in the form of a young child of admirable beauty.

After this story of Bodinus, I think I may well add two facts of a later date, which happened nearly about the same time. Whether the dreams related in these stories were owing to genii or tutelary angels, the case is the same, and it is the more singular upon this account, that the reality of the apparitions was confirmed by the events which happened afterwards.

A man of learning, who lived at Dison, as the story is told by a late writer, had wearied himself a whole day to no purpose in endeavouring to understand an important passage in a Greek poet. Being tired and vexed at the ill success of his long application, he went to bed, and falling into a deep sleep, fancied that he was carried to Stockholm, introduced into queen Christina's palace, and led into her library, when he run over with his eye all the books; and lighting at last upon a small volume, the title of which seemed new to him, he opened it, and having turned over ten or a dozen pages, he found ten Greek verses, the reading of which entirely cleared up the difficulty that had so long puzzled him. The joy which he felt at this discovery awoke him, and his imagination was so full of the Greek verses, that he remembered them, and kept repeating them incessantly till he had struck a light, when he writ them down upon paper, and then endeavoured to go to sleep again. The next morning when he awoke, he reflected on his nocturnal adventure, and finding it in all its circumstances to be very extraordinary, he resolved to pursue it to the utmost.

† Suite du Comte de Gabalis, ou les Genies assistans. A la Haye, 1718. p. 56.

M. Descartes was then in Sweden with the queen, instructing her in his philosophy. He knew him only by reputation ; but was acquainted with M. Chanut, the French ambassador in Sweden. He therefore applied to him to get a letter delivered to M. Descartes, and to engage him to answer it. In this letter he desired M. Descartes to inform him exactly whether the queen's library, the palace, and the city of Stockholm, were not situated in such a manner ; whether on one of the shelves, in the farthest part of this library, there was not a book of such a size, bound in such a manner, and with such a title on the back ; and lastly, whether in this book, which he earnestly pressed him to read carefully for his sake, in case he could find it, there were not ten Greek verses, the same with those which he had set down at the bottom of his letter.

M. Descartes, who was a man of the utmost politeness, soon satisfied our querist ; and assured him, that the most expert engineer could not have drawn a better plan of Stockholm than he had done in his letter ; that the palace and the library were perfectly well described ; that he had found the book in question upon the shelf which he had pointed out, and read in it the Greek verses mentioned ; that the book was very scarce, but that a friend of his had promised him a copy of it, which he would send to France by the first opportunity ; and that he begged him to accept the present, as a mark of his particular esteem. In short, the story is well known, and there are few men of letters who are not acquainted with it.

The other instance is taken from the same author, and is as follows.

A coun-

A counsellor of the² parliament of Paris (his name I have forgot, but the story is known to many people, who had it from his own mouth) being in bed fast asleep, dreamed that he saw a young man, who with a vehement and earnest look, repeated to him several times some words in a language which he did not understand. These words made so lively and distinct an impression upon his memory, that when he awoke, he ordered a light and paper to be brought, and writ them down. Having done so, he put out the light, and endeavoured to sleep again, but could not shut his eyes all the rest of the night. His dream, and the strange words ran continually in his head; and finding himself extremely uneasy, he determined to rise, and amuse himself with studying a cause which he was to *report* in the morning. He dressed himself, put on his counsellor's robe, and went to the court; where finding himself tired and fatigued with uneasiness, and want of sleep, he proposed to three or four of his brother counsellors, who were as early as himself, and with whom he had discoursed a while about the cause that was the subject of his report, to go and drink a glass, telling them that he wanted it much. The gentlemen consented to the proposal, and went together to the tavern, where he told them what had happened, and shewed them the words which he had writ on a bit of paper. Though most of them had travelled, and some understood English and German, others Italian and Spanish, they were entirely at a loss what to make of the words. At last one of the company said, I see, gentlemen, we are all puzzled; but M. de Sau-maise is near at hand, who understands all sorts of languages; let us send for him upon a pretence

of business, and I am sure he is too polite a man not to come at our request.

The company was pleased at this thought, and M. de Saumaïse was sent for. After some pleasantry, by way of introduction, they shewed him the paper, and asked him if he knew what language those words were. Yes, answered he, they are Syriac writ in French characters. But, added they, what is the meaning of them? Their literal meaning, replied he, is this, *Leave thy house, for it will fall down this evening at nine o'clock.* This translation was received with a loud laugh, and the dream treated as a jest, and an invention. But one of the company, who had more prudence than the rest, seeing plainly by the counsellor's look, that it was no fiction of his, said to the rest; You may laugh at this affair, if you please, but for my part, I look upon it in a more serious light. I assure you, that if it was my case, I would not be a moment without changing my quarters. Then turning to the counsellor, Take my advice, Sir, says he, go home, and set all the porters in your neighbourhood to work; you'll have nothing to do but to carry your goods back again, in case nothing should happen. The counsellor took his advice, and found the benefit of it; for the house fell flat to the ground, at the very hour which the benevolent genius had foretold. He then concluded, that the spirit spoke to him in a strange language, only with a design to engage his attention more strongly, by the singularity of the circumstances, and had contrived all that followed, namely, the interview with M. de Saumaïse, his explication of the words, and the resolution which was taken, in consequence of it.

These facts are taken, indeed, from an anonymous author, but I cannot think that he would venture to relate them as true, if they were not pre-

preserved by some private tradition, either in the province, or the families in which they happened; especially as there are many others which have been known only the same way.

I have already related this last story in another work, but more briefly, and with a difference in one particular, having there said, after my vouchers, that the words were Greek and not Syriack: and I am apprehensive, that this difference will make the truth of both called in question.

I am in some doubt whether Socrates's^a spirit ought to be reckoned in the number of good spirits, since Socrates was a heathen, and not acquainted either with the true God, or his angels. He used to say, that, from his youth up, he was attended by a genius, who hindered him from doing any thing that was unjust to others, or hurtful to himself, but this spirit never advised him what to do; but what he should forbear to do.

It is recorded of Socrates^b, that, after the defeat of the Athenian army under the prætor Laches, as he was flying in company with this Athenian general, and came to a place where several roads met, he refused to go the same way that the others did; and the reason being asked him, he answered, that his dæmon dissuaded him from it: and the event justified his precaution; for all those who took a different way from Soerates, were killed, or made prisoners by the enemy's cavalry.

Aristotle assures us, that he knew a man named Thafius, who had always near him a spirit in a human form, which was invisible to every one but himself.

Thomas Bartholinus^c, in his book, *Concerning the Causes of the contempt of death among the ancient heathen*

^a Plato in Theage. Plut. de Deo Socrat.

^b Cicero de Divinat. l. i.

^c Bartholin. De Causis Contemp. Mortis, &c. l. ii.

c. 2. p. 261.

Danes, says, that they were not afraid to fight with spectres, and that some of them had so piercing a sight, that they could see phantoms in the air, both by day and night; and that they had a power of communicating this faculty to others, by making them stand behind their backs, and look under their arms, which they held a-kembo, while they pronounced certain words. He asserts, after a countryman of his named *Stephanus*, that there are still some of these people in *Iceland*; whose sight is as piercing as that of a lynx. If any one chooses to attribute this to magick, I shall not dissent from him; but it may serve to account for what is mentioned above of *Thasius*, and for the stories that are told of several other persons.

XXI.

Apparitions of spectres or demons, and spirits.

PLUTARCH, an author of acknowledged gravity and good sense, makes frequent mention of spectres and apparitions; particularly, he says, that in the famous battle of *Marathon*, several soldiers saw the apparition of *Theseus* fighting for the Greeks against the Persians^a.

In his life of *Sylla*^b, he reports, that this general saw in a dream that goddess, whoever she be, whether *Bellona*, *Minerva*, or the moon, whom the Romans worshipped in the *Cappadocian* manner. This deity appeared to *Sylla*, and put into his hand a sort of thunderbolt, bidding him throw it at his enemies, which she named to him one after another; and as he struck them, they immediately fell dead at his feet. It is not improbable, that

^a Plut. in *Theseo*. Pausanias in *Atticis*.

^b Plutarc. in *Sylla*.

this goddess was Minerva, to whom the heathens attributed a privilege of casting thunderbolts, as well as to Jupiter himself^f.

Pausanias writes, that, four hundred years after the battle of Marathon, there were still heard, in the place where it was fought, the neighings of horses, and the shouts of soldiers, animating one another to the fight. Plutarch also speaks of spectres seen, and dreadful howlings heard in the public baths, where several citizens of Chæroneæ, his native town, had been murdered: he says, that the inhabitants had even been obliged to shut up these baths; but that, notwithstanding this precaution, great noises were still heard, and dreadful spectres frequently seen by the neighbours^g.

As Dion the philosopher, a disciple of Plato, and general of the Syracusans, was sitting pensively one evening in the portico before his house, he first heard a great noise, and then perceived a terrible spectre, a woman of a monstrous size, who resembled one of the furies as described in tragedies. It was still day-light, and she began to sweep the house. Dion, being much terrified, sent to desire some of his friends to come and pass the night with him; but the woman immediately disappeared, and was seen no more. Soon after, his son threw himself from the top of the house, and he himself was assassinated by conspirators^h.

Marcus Brutus, one of the murderers of Julius Cæsar, being one night in his tent, saw a monstrous figure come in, about the third hour of the night. Brutus immediately cried out, What art thou? A man or a god? and why art thouⁱ come hither? The spectre answered, I am thy evil ge-

^f Dacier's Notes upon Plutarch, t. iv. p. 241.

^g Plut. in Cimone, p. 479.

^h Plut. in Dione, p. 982.

ⁱ In Bruto, p. 1000, 1001.

nus; thou shalt see me at Philippi. Brutus calmly answered, I'll meet thee there. And going out, he related the affair to Cassius, who, being of the sect of Epicurus, and believing nothing of these matters, told him it was a mere fancy; that there was no such thing as genii, or other spirits, which could appear to men; that even if they should appear, they could not assume a human shape, or voice, and had no power over us. Though Brutus was somewhat encouraged by these reasons, yet he could not entirely get the better of his uneasiness.

But this very Cassius^a, in the midst of the battle of Philippi, saw Julius Caesar, whom he had assassinated, riding up to him full speed; which terrified him so much, that he fell upon his own sword.

Cassius of Parma^b, a different person from the last mentioned Cassius, saw an evil genius, which came into his tent, and gave him notice of his approaching death.

When Drusus was making war upon the Germans, in the reign of Augustus^c, and intended to pass the Elbe to penetrate farther into the country, he was diverted from it by a woman of uncommon stature, who appeared to him, and said, Drusus, whither wouldst thou go? Wilt thou never be satisfied? Thy end is near, return back. He immediately did so, but died before he could reach the Rhine, which he intended to repass.

^a Val. Max. l. i. c. 99.

^b Dio Cassius, l. lv.

^c Valer. Max. l. i. c. 79.

XXII.

Other instances of apparitions of spectres.

ST. Gregory of Nyssa, in his life of St. Gregory Thaumaturgus, says^a, that during the time of a great plague which raged in the city of Neocæsarea, there were seen at noon-day spectres going into several houses; and it was observed, that they brought with them certain death.

After the famous sedition at Antioch, in the time of the emperor Theodosius^o, there was seen, the following night, a sort of fury running up and down the city with a whip, which she cracked like a coachman driving his horses.

St. Martin^p, having conceived some suspicion of an altar, which one of his predecessors in the bishoprick of Tours had erected to a supposed martyr, prayed earnestly one day to God, that he would let him know who it was that the people honoured in that place; when suddenly there appeared on his left hand a hideous spectre, which having told his name, owned he had been a robber, and was executed for his crimes, and had not the least right to the honours due to martyrs. Upon this St. Martin demolished the altar, and suppressed the pretended reliques. They who attended him heard plainly what was said, but saw nothing. It must therefore have been a shadow, and not a solid body which appeared.

The same St. Martin, being at Treves, saw, as he was going into a house, a frightful spectre, which terrified him a little at first, but he soon

^a Gregor. Nyss. Vit. S. Thaum, p. 1007.

^p Sulp. Sever. Vit. S. Martini.

^o Sozom. l. vii. c. 23.

recovered,

recovered, and commanded the spectre to leave the house. Instead of obeying, it entered into the body of a man there present, who immediately began to fall upon all he met, and tear them with his teeth. St. Martin putting himself in his way, ordered him to stand, and thrust his fingers into his mouth, defying him to bite. The possessed man drew back, as if he had had a bar of red-hot iron in his mouth, and was immediately delivered from the spirit, which went out, not at his mouth, but with his excrements, which he let fly behind.

John, bishop of Affos^a, who lived in the sixth century, speaking of the great plague which happened in the reign of the emperor Justinian, and which is mentioned by almost all the historians of that time, says, that black men, without heads, were seen rowing upon the sea in brazen boats, and advancing towards those places, where the plague begun to rage: that this infection having dispeopled a town in Egypt, so that there were only seven persons and a lad of ten years old left alive in it; these persons intending to leave the city, with a great sum of money, fell down dead on a sudden. The lad fled, without taking any thing away, but at the gate of the city, he was stopt by a spectre, which forcibly dragged him into the house where the seven men lay dead. Soon after the steward of the person to whom the house belonged, coming thither with some other servants to take out some goods for his master who was in the country, was advised by this same lad to get away; but he died suddenly, and the lad too. The servants who accompanied the steward escaped, and carried the news to their master.

The same bishop relates, that coming to Constantinople during the time of a great plague,

^a Simon. Assemani Bibliotheca Orient. t. ii. p. 86, 87.

which

which carried off ten, twelve, fifteen, and sixteen thousand persons a day, so that it was computed that two hundred thousand were dead of the distemper; he relates, I say, that there were seen in that city dæmons running from house to house, in the habit of ecclesiasticks or monks, and that they brought death wherever they came.

Philostratus says, that Apollonius Tyanæus shewed the Ephesians a dæmon, in the form of a vagrant beggar, which occasioned a plague in their city; upon which they pursued him with stones, and drove him out of the town.

XXIII.

More apparitions of spectres.

PLINY the younger, consulting his friend Sura upon the subject of apparitions, professes that he is strongly inclined to believe they are true, and the reason he alledges^{*} is what happened to Quintus Curtius Rufus, who having gone into Africa in the retinue of the Roman quæstor, saw, as he was walking one evening under a portico, a woman of uncommon size and beauty, who told him that she was Africa, and assured him that he should one day return into that country in quality of proconsul. This assurance filled Rufus with great expectations, so that he returned to Rome, and by his intrigues and bribery obtained the quæstorship, and afterwards the prætorship, by the favour of the emperor Tiberius. The meanness and obscurity of his birth being covered by this dignity, he was afterwards sent proconsul into Africa, where he died, after having obtained the honours of a triumph.

* Plin. l. vii. ep. 27. Tacit. l. xi. Annal.

It is said, that at his return into Africa, the same spectre, which had foretold his future greatness, appeared to him again as he was getting out of the ship. This prediction being so clear, and so punctually fulfilled, made Pliny of opinion, that such apparitions are not always imaginary. This same story of Curtius Rufus had been related by Tacitus some time before Pliny.

XXIV.

Stories of houses pretended to be haunted by spectres.

IN the same epistle, Pliny relates another story, not less extraordinary than the former. There was at Athens a good house, which no one would venture to live in, because of a spectre which appeared in it. The philosopher Athenodorus coming to that city, and seeing that the house was advertised to be sold at a low price, bought it, and went and lived there with his family. In the night being busy in writing and reading, he heard on a sudden a noise like the dragging of chains, and looking up, saw a frightful figure of an old man, loaded with iron chains, advancing towards him. Athenodorus continuing to write on, the spectre made him a sign to follow him, but the philosopher bid him stay, and still went on. Upon this the spectre came nearer, and rattled his chains at his ears; when the philosopher, seeing him so importunate, took up the light, and followed him. They went down together into the yard, where the spectre sunk into the earth, and disappeared. Athenodorus, without being much frightened, plucked up some grass and leaves to mark the place, and returned into the house. The next day he informed the magistrates of what had happened, who came and ordered the place to be searched, and

and found the bones of a human body loaded with chains. The chains were taken off, and the bones buried, and from that time the house was quiet, and the philosopher enjoyed his cheap purchase.

There is a story very much like this related by Lucian*, who says that it happened at Corinth, and that the house was shewn there even in his time. This house was situated in the part of the town called Cranaus, and belonged to one Eubatides. Notwithstanding the report of its being haunted by a spectre, one Arignotus having a mind to pass a night there, provided some Egyptian books of magick, and going into the house with a light, sat down calmly in the court, and fell a reading. The spectre soon appeared, and in hopes of frightening Arignotus, sometimes assumed the form of a dog, soon after of a bull, and then of a lion. But Arignotus, without being disturbed, began to pronounce some magical invocations out of his books, and drove the spectre up into a corner of the court, where it sunk into the earth, and disappeared. The next morning he sent for Eubatides, the owner of the house, and having dug in the place, where the phantom disappeared, they found a body, or rather a skeleton, which they buried; and from that time nothing was ever heard or seen more in that house.

This story is put in the mouth of Arignotus by Lucian, the man in the world the least credulous in these matters. But in the same place he says, that Democritus, who believed neither in angels, devils, nor spirits, having shut himself up in a monument without the city, where he studied both day and night, some young persons having a mind to frighten him, dressed themselves in black garments, such as the dead are clothed in, and

* Lucian in Philopseud. p. 840.

putting on frightful masks, came howling and leaping about the place where he was. Democritus, without being disturbed, went on with his studies, and only said to them coolly, Have done with your wanton tricks.

Antonio de Torquemada, the author of a Spanish book, entitled, *A Garden of curious Flowers*, printed at Salamanca in 1570, translated into French by Gabriel Chappuy Tourangeau, and printed at Lyons in 1582, and at Rouen in 1610, under the title of *Hexameron*, or a work of six days; this author says, that a little before his time, there happened at Bologna an event very much like that which Pliny reports to have happened at Athens, and Lucian at Corinth. The story is, that a young man, named Vasquez de Ayola, went to Bologna, with two companions, to study the law, and not finding a lodging in the city that they liked, they were shewn a large and handsome house, which was deserted on account of a spectre that haunted it, and frightened all who attempted to live there. They, however, laughed at these stories, and settled in it.

A month after, Ayola's companions being fast asleep, and himself only awake in the chamber, he heard a noise at a distance, as of several chains dragging upon the ground, which advanced towards him up the stair-case. He recommended himself to God, made the sign of the cross, laid hold of his sword and buckler, and having the candle in his hand, saw the door opened by a dreadful spectre, being nothing but bones, but loaded with chains.

Ayola conjured the spectre to tell what it wanted, and whether it would have him follow it. The spectre made him a sign to follow, which he obeyed; but as he was going down stairs, his light went out. Upon this, he returned to his chamber,

chamber, lighted it again, and followed the spirit, which led him across a court, where there was a well: Ayola fearing that it would throw him in, stopt short; but the phantom made signs to him to come on; and they went into the garden, where the spectre disappeared. Ayola marked the place with some handfuls of grass, and returned to tell his companions what had happened; and the next morning laid the affair before the magistrates of the city, who came with the governor to view the place. Having ordered it to be dug up, there was found a body, loaded with chains, but with the flesh entirely gone. Having made an enquiry who it was, and nothing certain being discovered, funeral rites were performed for the deceased, and the house was no more haunted. Torquemada asserts, that in his time several witnesses of the fact were living, both at Bologna and in Spain, and that Ayola, upon his return home, was promoted to a considerable office; and that his son, a little before Torquemada writ his book, was president in a considerable town of that kingdom.

XXV.

Observations concerning Spectres.

IT is remarkable that the heathens, conformably to their principles, barely bury the bodies of spectres which appear again, but that Christians perform funeral obsequies, and say prayers in their behalf. It is not impossible that the same thing may have happened, with some difference of circumstances, at Athens, Corinth, and Bologna; but this very diversity of circumstances inclines me to question the truth of the facts. For, upon the principles of Christianity, of what importance is

it to a soul, whether its body be buried with chains or not? The spectres, mentioned by Pliny and Torquemada, appeared with their chains on, and sunk into the earth, or disappeared some other way; and the next day the bones and chains were found under ground, without any appearance of their having been displaced.

It may here be asked, how it was possible for them to come out of the earth, and go into it again, without moving the ground? Again, was it the real body that was formerly buried, and real chains which appeared, or was it only a representation of them to those who fancied they saw and heard them?

Lucian's spectre came purely to frighten the philosopher Arignotus, who, by the help of his magical incantations, forces it to assume successively the form of a dog, a bull, and a lion, and at length to retire into a corner of the court, and sink into the earth. All these circumstances are evidently trifling and fabulous; and accordingly it is Lucian that relates them. He was undoubtedly acquainted with Pliny's story, but he tells it in his own way. Torquemada seems to be more serious and circumstantial. But is it possible for a carcass, or skeleton, to drag its chains out of a grave, and to return into the grave again, without opening the ground, and moving it so as to be perceived? It must be owned, all these stories have strongly the appearance of fables.

XXVI.

The opinion of the ancient heathens, that departed souls are not admitted to a state of rest, till their bodies are buried.

IT was an opinion among the ancients, that departed souls enjoyed no tranquillity, except their bodies were solemnly interred, and received all the honours of a funeral.

They called this *animam condere*, covering or interring the soul.

*Inferimus tepido spumantia cymbia lacte^t,
Sanguinis & sacri pateras, animamque sepulchro
Condimus, & magnâ supremum voce ciemus.*

It was also called covering or interring the shades:

*Romulus ut tumulo fraternas condidit umbras^u,
Et male veloci iusta soluta remo.*

The Sybil in Virgil, when shewing Æneas the manes wandering up and down upon the banks of Acheron, tells him that they are the souls of such as have not been buried.

*Hæc omnis, quam cernis, inops inbumataque turba
est^x;
Portitor ille, Charon : hi, quos vehit unda, sepulti :
Nec ripas datur horrendas, nec rauca fluentia
Transportare prius, quàm sedibus ossa quierunt.
Certum errant annos, volitantque hæc littora circum.*

^t Virgil. Æneid. iii. v. 66.

^u Ovid. Fast. v.

^x Virgil. Æneid. l. vi.

v. 325.

Salust, the philosopher^y, mentions the appearing of deceased persons about their sepulchres with opake bodies, and endeavours, but in vain, to prove from hence the truth of the metempsychosis.

Eucrates, as quoted by Lucian^z, relates, that at his wife's decease, he threw into the funeral pile all the things that she formerly made use of. Seven days after she appeared to her husband, who was reading in bed Plato's book concerning the soul, and sat down by him. Eucrates embraced her with tears in his eyes; but she bid him make no noise, and gave him a gentle reprimand for having forgot to throw into the funeral pile one of her golden slippers, which was hid under a chest. While they were conversing together, a little dog which lay upon the bed began to bark, and the phantom vanished. The slipper being afterwards found, was burnt like the other things.

It may here be asked, whether it was the soul of the woman that came to claim the slipper, or the devil that appeared in her shape? Or whether Lucian himself did not invent this story to laugh at the credulity of the vulgar. Be this as it will, it is still a proof that it was a prevailing opinion among the Greeks, that departed souls, angels and dæmons, appear sometimes to the living.

After the fatal end of Caligula, who was murdered in his own palace, his body was buried in his gardens in a hurry, and only half burnt. The princesses his sisters, when they returned from exile, got him burnt with all the usual ceremonies, and interred with honour; but it passed for certain, that before this, they who had the care of the

^y Salust. Philof. c. xix. xx.
p. 33.

^z Lucian in Philopseud.
838, 839.

palace and gardens, had been disturbed every night by spectres, and dreadful noises.

One of Plautus's comedies, entitled *Mostellaria**, turns upon the like notion of a haunted house. The poet introduces a spirit, saying, that he had been assassinated about sixty years before by a treacherous companion, who had robbed him of his money, and buried him in that house; that the god of the infernal regions refused to receive him below, as having died prematurely, and before his time; and that therefore he was obliged to take up his residence in that house.

We learn from hence two remarkable things. First, that it was a prevailing opinion, that persons who died a violent death, and before the ordinary time, were not admitted into the kingdom of Pluto. Secondly, that these souls sometimes took possession of a house, where they continued, notwithstanding all attempts to dispossess them, and tormented those who lived there; which shews the opinions and prejudices entertained by the Romans concerning such apparitions, in the houses where any one had been assassinated, or died a violent death.

Father Peter Thyrée, a jesuit, in his book entitled *Dæmoniacy, cum locis infestis & terriculamentis nocturnis*, relates a great number of instances of houses haunted by spectres, spirits, and devils: and among others that of a tribune named Hesperius, whose house was haunted by a devil, which tormented the servants and animals, and was expelled by a priest of Hippo^b, who offered there the holy sacrifice of our Saviour's body.

* Plaut. *Mostell.* Act. ii.
Scen. ii. v. 67. Hæc mihi de-
dita habitatio, nam me Ache-
rontem recipere Orcus noluist,

quia præmaturè vitâ careo.

^b Aug l. xxii. c. 8. de civi-
tat. Dei.

St. German, bishop of Capua^a, going to a bath in that city, found there Paschasius, a deacon of the church of Rome, who had been some time dead, who presenting himself as to wait upon him, told him, that he was there suffering his purgatory, for having been an abettor of the anti-pope Laurence against Symmachus. St. Gregory of Nyssa, in his life of St. Gregory of Neocæsarea, says, that one of that bishop's deacons, going into a wood, where no one ventured after a certain hour in the evening, because all who went there were killed, saw there spectres of all sorts, which made a thousand attempts to hurt him; but he put them all to flight by making the sign of the cross, and calling upon the name of Jesus Christ. I might mention a great number of like instances, related by very serious and judicious authors.

Alexander ab Alexandro, a famous Neapolitan lawyer, who lived in the ^d fifteenth century, says, that it is known to every one that there are houses in Rome (some of which he himself has lived in) so discredited for being haunted almost every night by spectres, that scarce any one will venture to live in them. He quotes the testimony of his friend Nicholas Tuba, a man of known veracity and probity, who coming once with some companions to see whether the common reports about these houses were true, resolved to pass the night there with Alexander; and as they were all together, perfectly awake, and with several candles lighted, there appeared a dreadful spectre, which frightened them so much with its terrible voice, and the noise it made, that they knew not what they did or said; and as we advanced towards it, says he,

^a Greg. Magn. l. iv. Dialog. c. 39.

^d Alexander ab Alexandro, l. v. c. 23.

with a light, it retired, and at last, after having greatly disturbed the whole house, it disappeared entirely.

But what is still more extraordinary than all this, is, that Alexander being one day in bed, broad awake, and the door of the room shut close, his servant, and one of his clients, named Mark, saw on a sudden a spectre come through the chinks of the door, and began to cry out with all their might. Alexander, who did not see the spirit, could scarce believe them, when immediately the phantom, which had crept under the bed, stretched out its arm, and extinguished the candle which stood upon the table, and then scattered about all the papers that were on it. At the noise which we made, says he, our companions ran to us with lights, and immediately the spectre opened the door, and fled before they came in, without their seeing it. As for us who were in the room, we saw it plainly, in the shape of a very black man.

Tiraqueau, who has writ learned notes upon this author, treats all these facts as reveries. Perhaps he is in the right; but I wish he had given some proofs of what he advances.

By a letter which I received the 12th of October 1742, from a gentleman of undoubted credit, he assures me, that when he lived at Mirecourt, he had often heard, about eleven o'clock in the evening, especially on holiday-eves, a great noise in his house, sometimes in the cellar, and sometimes in the granary, as if all the things in those rooms were turned topsy-turvy. Besides, adds he, I have often heard something walking in my chamber, sometimes like a person bare-foot, and at other times like a man in boots. One evening, returning from a puppet-show, I found my child laid across the fire, his bed being not at all tumbled,

bled, but in the same situation as when the child was put in it. At other times, the child was taken out of his bed, and laid in the middle of the chamber, without knowing who had put him there, and wakened only by the cold, which he felt. One day, being All-saints eve, I saw, being quite awake, three lighted candles in my room, one while advancing towards me, and soon after retiring from me. Another time I saw the shape of a tall woman, dressed in white, with a child in her arms. There were three of us which saw her, and as we advanced towards her, she disappeared. Some friends of mine, who lodged with me, and knew nothing of these apparitions, told me in the morning that they could not sleep, and could not conceive what noise we had been making in the house all night. The same thing happened to a dragoon who was quartered with me, and grew almost mad, being able to get no rest, and seeing nothing, though he endeavoured with the utmost diligence, by striking a light, to discover the cause of all this disturbance. I myself have got up in the dark more than thirty times to find it out, and was at last obliged to leave the house. I am ready to attest the truth of what I have writ you, as often as you desire me.

XXVII.

Spectres, or demons, which raise storms.

THE prince of Radzville*, in his account of his journey to Jerusalem, relates a most extraordinary thing, which he himself was witness of. He had purchased two Egyptian mummies, a man and a woman, and locked them up privately

* Radzwill. Peregrin. Jerof. p. 228, & seq.

into two chests, which he put on board his ship, when he embarked at Alexandria to return to Europe. This was known only to himself and two servants, because the Turks prohibit the exportation of mummies out of Egypt, believing that the Christians make use of them for magical operations. When they were at sea, there arose a storm, which returned several times with such violence, that the pilot had no hope of saving the ship, and they all expected immediate and inevitable shipwreck. A Polish priest, who attended the prince, said the proper prayers on such an occasion, and the responses were made by the prince and his attendants. But the priest all the while complained of being tormented by two black and hideous spectres, a man and woman, which seized him, and threatened to kill him. They all imagined at first, that his fright, and the danger of being shipwrecked, had disturbed his imagination. Upon a calm's coming on, he seemed easy; but the storm beginning again, he was tormented more than ever; nor was he delivered from his plague, till they had thrown into the sea the two mummies, which he had never seen; and neither he nor the pilot knew to be in the ship.

Whether these apparitions were the souls of the two Egyptians, afraid that their bodies should remain in the possession of Christians, or two devils which assumed their shapes: whence it happened that they were seen only by this priest, who knew nothing of their being in the ship: whether it was nothing but an impression made upon his imagination: whence this proceeded, and what was the cause of so singular an event: whether departed souls or devils have a power of producing such effects upon our minds: all these are points which I shall not venture to determine.

XXVIII. S.

XXVIII.

St. Elm's, or St. German's fire.

THE prince of Radzville, in the same work, mentions a sort of fire, which he calls St. German's fire, which appeared several times upon the top of the main-mast of the ship: it is called by others St. Elm's, or St. Anselm's fire. The heathens attributed it to Castor and Pollux, because it sometimes appears double. Philosophers consider it as a natural phaenomenon, and nothing more than an inflamed vapour: an opinion which I shall not contest, but only observe, that the ancients looked upon these fires as supernatural and divine.

With regard to a great number of stories related by certain writers after others, we may, without either admitting or rejecting them, absolutely agree with Livy, in leaving them to common fame, and treating them like many other things, in which we take little or no interest. *Hæc neque affirmare, neque refellere opera pretium est. Fama rerum standum est.* I leave them therefore as vulgar reports. Believe them who will.

XXIX.

Apparitions of angels, demons, or spirits, which reveal things unknown, and things future.

OF the following apparitions, some may be attributed to good angels, and others to the devil. When Julius Cæsar was deliberating whether he should pass the ^f Rubicon, and invade Italy,

^f Sueton. in Julio, c. xxxii.

there

there appeared a man of uncommon stature, whistling upon a reed, and upon the soldiers running together to hear him, the spectre snatched a trumpet from one of them, sounded an alarm, and passed the river. Upon this, Cæsar, without hesitating any longer, cried out, Let us go, whither the presages of the gods, and the injustice of our enemies, call us.

The emperor Trajan ^a was taken by a spectre out of the city of Antioch through a window, in the midst of that terrible earthquake, which overthrew almost the whole town. The philosopher Simonides ^b had a like intimation given him, that his house was going to fall; upon which he left it in time, and soon after it actually fell.

There is a story, that a person ^c, who understood not a word of the Greek, came to visit M. de Saumaise the father, who was a counsellor of the parliament of Dijon, and shewed him the following words which he had heard in his sleep by night, and had writ down in French characters when he awoke in the morning: *Apithi, onk of-phrainé tén sên apsyebian*. He asked M. de Saumaise what they meant, who answered, *Depart, hast thou no apprehension of thy death?* Upon this, the man left his house, which fell down the following night. Josephus relates, that a little before the destruction of the temple of Jerusalem, there were heard in the night voices crying out, ^d *Let us leave this place*.

The emperor Julian the apostate used to tell a story, that at the time when his soldiers pressed him to accept the empire, being at Paris^e, there

^a Dio Cassius, l. lxxviii.

ⁱ Menagiana.

p. 783.

^k Joseph. de Bello Jud.

^b Diog. Laert. in Simonid.

l. vi. c. 7.

& Val. Max. l. i.

^l Ammian. l. xix. p. 162.

appeared to him one night a spectre, in the form which the genius of the empire is usually painted in, which said that it came to dwell with him, but gave him notice that it would be only for a short time. He affirmed likewise, that as he was writing one night in his tent a little before his death^m, his familiar spirit appeared to him, going out of his tent, with a sorrowful and dejected countenance.

A little before the death of the emperor Constantius, Julian saw by nightⁿ a vision of a luminous spectre, which repeated to him several times four Greek verses, importing, that when Jupiter should be in Aquarius, and Saturn in the twenty-fifth degree of Virgo, the emperor Constantius should die a miserable death in Asia.

We are assured, that the night after the death of Julian the apostate, St. Basil saw a vision of the holy martyr Mercurius^o, receiving an order from God to go and slay Julian; and that soon after Mercurius returned, and said, *Lord, Julian is mortally wounded, as thou hast commanded me.* The next morning, St. Basil made this news publick, and the truth of it was soon after confirmed. Didymus, the famous blind man of Alexandria^p, saw also the same night, in a trance, horses galloping in the air, and crying out, Let Didymus know that Julian was slain this day at the sixth hour, and let him carry the news to the bishop Athanasius.

^m Ammian. l. xxv.

^o Amphiloch. Vit. S. Basil.

ⁿ Idem; l. ii. Greg. Nazianz. Chronic. Alex. p. 692.

^p Sozomen. l. vi. c. 2.

XXX.

Other remarkable apparitions of angels, or spirits, which discover things profitable to salvation.

A Few minutes before the death of St. Ambrose, Honoratus, bishop of Vercelli, who lay in an upper room in the same house, heard a voice, which cried to him three times, *Rise, make haste^a, he is just departing.* Honoratus immediately came down, and gave St. Ambrose the sacrament, which as soon as he had received, he expired. His body was carried to the church. It happening to be the evening of Easter-Sunday, when the new converts were commonly baptized, he was seen by several of the children, who pointed him out to their parents; but these latter could not see him, because their eyes were not sufficiently pure, says Paulinus, a disciple of St. Ambrose, and the writer of his life.

Paulinus adds, that on the day of his death, St. Ambrose appeared to several holy persons in the east, and prayed with them, and laid his hands upon them. These persons writ an account of it to Milan, and upon comparing the dates, it was found that it happened the very day of his death; and the letters were still in being in the time of Paulinus. The holy bishop was also seen several times after his death praying in the Ambrosian church at Florence, which, when he was alive, he had promised to visit often.

During the siege of Milan by Radagnasius, St. Ambrose appeared to one of the citizens, and promised him, that they should receive succours the next day, which proved true. The same saint ap-

^a Paulin. Vit. Ambros. p. 47, 48.

peared also to Mascezel, who commanded the Roman army against Gildon, and striking the ground three times with his stick, said, *Here, bere, here*, meaning, that in that very spot he should gain the victory three days after, which happened accordingly. Paulinus had this from Mascezel's own mouth.

A blind man being told, in a vision, that the bodies of the martyrs Sifinnius and Alexander were coming by sea to Milan, and that St. Ambrose was going out to meet them, requested him in a dream to restore his sight. St. Ambrose answered: *Go to Milan, and meet the bodies of my brethren; they will arrive such a day, and will restore you your sight.* The blind man obeyed his orders, and upon touching the shrines in which the reliques of the martyrs were inclosed, he recovered his sight, and related the fact himself to Paulinus.

XXXI.

Instances of persons, both dead and living, that have appeared to others, without knowing it.

ST. Augustin^r professes to believe, that the dead have often appeared to the living, discovered where their bodies lay unburied, and pointed out the place where they chose to be interred: that a noise has been frequently heard in churches, where the dead are buried, and that the dead have been often seen to go into the houses which they inhabited before their decease. He says further, that it is possible for one living person to discover to another, who is absent, things which the discoverer has not the least knowledge of, nor trou-

^r Aug. de Curâ gerendâ pro mortuis, c. x.

^s Tom. ii. p. 562.

bles his head about; but that he will not determine whether, in this case, either of the persons is, at that time, asleep or awake.

If this be so, as it cannot, adds he, be doubted, who will question whether it is possible for the dead to appear to the living, without knowing it, and to discover to them things, which are confirmed to be true by the event? And he concludes, that it happens by the express command, or at least the permission of God, who commands his angels to signify in what place the persons, who know nothing of these visions, ought to be buried, or to comfort the living, who are solicitous about the burial of the deceased, or to recommend to the living the care of burying their dead; a negligence in this respect being always blameable.

It is remarkable, that when one living person appears to another, we do not say, that his soul or his body, but that such a person has appeared, as if it were not possible for the dead to appear, in like manner, without body or soul, but merely by an impression of their figure upon the mind or imagination of the living person.

When Roger, earl of Calabria and Sicily, was besieging the city of Capua, a certain Greek, named Sergius, to whom he had given the command of a body of 200 men, being bribed by the prince of Capua, formed a design of betraying to him the earl and his army in the night. The plot being to be executed the first of March, St. Bruno, who lived then in the desert of Squillaci, appeared to the earl, and bid him take arms immediately, if he would escape from his enemies. Upon this the earl leaped out of bed, and ordered his soldiers to mount their horses, and see what

^t De Curâ pro mortuis, c. x. p. 523. See also Serm. 322, 323. Tom. v.

was doing in the camp. They found there Sergius's troop, and the prince of Capua, who upon seeing them, retired towards the city, but the earl's soldiers seized one hundred and sixty-two of them, who confessed the treachery. The 19th of July Roger went to Squillaci, and telling St. Bruno what had happened, the saint answered, It was not I that gave you notice of the plot, but the angel of God who attends upon princes in time of war. This fact is related by the earl himself, in a privilege granted to St. Bruno^u.

Some little time before the wretched death of Lewis^z, king of Hungary, which happened in the year 1526, this prince being at dinner, in the citadel of Buda, there appeared at the gate an ill-looking lame man, in a mean habit, who demanded, with great earnestness, to speak with the king, saying, that he had something of the utmost consequence to communicate to him. His appearance was such, that at first he was treated with great contempt, and no one would let the king know of his being there; but upon his growing more importunate, and protesting that he could not discover his business to any but the king himself, they informed Lewis of the matter. Upon this he sent a lord, who, of all the nobles then near him, had the greatest air of dignity, who pretended to be the king, and asked the man what he had to say to him. He answered, I know that you are not the king; but since he will not vouchsafe to hear me, tell him, that he shall certainly die soon. Having said this, he turned away, and disappeared. Leunclavius had this from the baron of Erbestin, to whom it was told by a lady, who was at the king's court when the thing happened.

^u Leunclav. Pandect. Hist. Turcicæ, p. 221.

^z Apud Sur. vi. Octobr. p. 597.

Queen Margaret⁷, in her Memoirs, pretends that the great are under the particular protection of God, who reveals to them the future accidents of their life, by dreams or some other way; “as (says she) was the case of the queen (Catharine of Medicis) my mother; who, the night before that unhappy tournament, dreamed that she saw the king (Henry II.) my father wounded in the eye, as it afterwards happened; and when she awaked, begged him several times not to run in the lists that day.——Another time, when she was dangerously ill at Metz, and there stood by the bed-side the king, (Charles IX.) my sister, my brother of Lorrain, and many ladies and princesses, she cried out, as if she had seen the battle of Jarnac, *See how they fly: My son has the victory: See the prince of Condé dead in that hedge.* All who were by thought her delirious; but the night after, when M. de Losses brought news of the battle, *I knew it*, said she, *very well; did not I see it the day before yesterday?*”

Philippa, duchess of Guelderland, wife of Renatus the second, duke of Lorrain, had a vision of the unhappy battle of Pavia, when she was a nun at St. Clara's, at Pont-à-Mousson; and immediately cried out, *Ah! my sisters, my dear sisters! to prayers for the love of God. . . . My son de Lambesc is killed, and the king my cousin (Francis the first) taken prisoner.* Soon after arrived at Nancy, the couriers which brought the news of the memorable event, which happened the very day that the princess had the vision; though neither the prince of Lambesc, nor king Francis the first had the least knowledge of this revelation.

7 Memoires de la Reine Marguerite, l. i.

Father Abram, a jesuit of Lorrain, in the sixth book of his history of the university of Pont-à-Mousson, relates that father Sinson, a celebrated preacher, who lived in that college, coming down from his room one night, in the heat of the dog-days, into a part of the cloister which joined to the church, in order to take the fresh air, and cool himself, by walking barefoot on the pavement, saw, on a sudden, at his left hand, a spectre of a more than human size, which was going to speak to him; but he made it signs, that he could not speak by night, without leave from his superior; and that if it would return the night after, he would ask leave, and have a conference with it. The following night the phantom appeared again, and told father Sinson, that he had some great secrets to impart to him. The father answered, I can receive no secrets, unless you give me leave to discover them to my superior. After this preface, the conversation begun, and lasted for near an hour; but it was never known what the spectre told him. The superior having asked father Sinson what was the subject of their conference, he answered, it was something too frightful to be heard without shuddering; and the superior insisted no further upon knowing. Father Abram assures us, that he who appeared was not a jesuit.

This event, which happened about the year 1602, is known to every one in Pont-à-Mousson, and the place where the spectre appeared is still shewn in the cloister. Father Sinson was seized with so great a fright, that he never recovered it, and his brain continued a little disordered to his death.

The story of John Michel, son of Nicholas Michel, who lived near the wood of Orthémont, in the parish of Senones, is of a very late date. This Michel, who had been a soldier in the regiment of

of Enguien, and died in the hospital of Ingolstadt in Bavaria, after having received all the sacraments, in July 1742, appeared three different times, in the night between the 29th and 30th of September, to his father, broad awake, and his brothers and sisters, four in all, in the form of a man buried in a white cloth, which gradually diminished and disappeared as they advanced towards him. This the father of John Michel attested before me, and the reverend father Dom Ambrose Pelletier, minister of Senones, the 30th of September in the morning, being the day after the said apparition.

XXXII.

Apparitions of living men to other persons living, and at a distance.

ST. Augustin appeared, without knowing it^a, to two persons who had never seen him, and knew him only by reputation, as they protested, and as he himself declares in a publick discourse to his congregation. There are several other instances of living persons appearing to others, who were a great way off; as that of St. Benedict, who appeared to some men, whom he had promised to meet, and shew them how he would have a monastery^b built. St. Meletius, archbishop of Antioch, appeared in like manner to Theodosius the Great, while he was a private person^c, and clothed him with the imperial robe, as the emperor himself declared upon seeing Meletius, whom he knew, though he had never seen him before.

^a Aug. Serm. ccxxxiii. p. 1277, 1278.

^b Greg. l. ii, Dialog. c. 22.

^c Theodoret. l. v. Histor. c. 6, 7.

St. Paul, after his conversion^d, saw in a vision Ananias, who laid his hands upon him, and restored his sight. St. Augustin^e, in his book concerning the care of the dead, says, that a pious monk, named John, appeared to a good woman, who desired earnestly to see him; and he reasons much upon this apparition.

Such apparitions of living men to others, and especially those which happen without the knowledge of the person that appears, as in the case of Ananias appearing to St. Paul, and St. Augustin's appearing to the two persons that he speaks of, deserve the strictest attention. But every way of accounting for them is attended with great difficulties, whether we suppose the souls of these persons really to appear, or only a representation to be formed by the operation of angels, or of God himself, in the minds of those who see them, or believe they see them,

XXXIII.

Goblins, or familiar spirits.

IN the number of apparitions may be ranked goblins, of which so many extraordinary things are told. They are of several sorts, of which the greater part are not mischievous, but, on the contrary, very serviceable, by dressing, feeding, and taking care of horses, which they sometimes do at the cost of the next neighbour, whose corn they have been known to steal, to give it to the horse which they have taken under their care. There are a thousand stories of this sort, and all of them so ridiculous, that one should hardly believe them,

^d Act. ix. 12.

^e Aug. de Cur. pro mortuis, c. vii. & c. ix.

without seeing them ourselves, or having them from eye-witnesses.

The younger Pliny^f tells a story of a freed man of his, named Marcus, a man of letters, who, as he lay in bed with his younger brother, dreamed that he saw a person sitting upon the bed, and cutting off the hair from the top of his head. When he waked, he found himself shaved, and his hair scattered about the room. A little after, the same thing happened to a boy, who lay asleep with several others in a large room, and saw two persons in white come in at the window, and cut off his hair while he slept. His hair too, as in the other instance, was found scattered round the room next morning. These events cannot, I think, be attributed to any thing but goblins: and, as a proof of it, I may add the concurring testimony of several unexceptionable witnesses, who have assured me, that a relation of theirs had a sort of familiar spirit, which always waited upon him, brought him his shoes, brushed his clothes, and when he was in the country, always came home before him, and got ready his chamber for his reception. The people of the house were so used to this spirit, that they knew the gentleman would soon be at home, when they saw the furniture of his chamber set in order, and his clothes got ready.

Trithemius mentions a spirit which was seen for some considerable time^g in the diocese of Hildesheim in Saxony, and went by the name of *Hecdekiu*, or *the spirit with the cap*, on account of a cap which he always appeared in. He was seen sometimes in one shape, sometimes in another, and frequently he contented himself with doing

^f Plin. l. vii. ep. 27.

^g Trithem. Chronic. Hirsang. circa an. 1131.

something to give proof of his presence and his power, without appearing at all. He sometimes gave important intelligence to princes. He was often seen in the bishop's kitchen, where he waited upon the cooks, and did a great many little jobs: but one of the scullions, who had contracted a sort of intimacy with him, having one day affronted him, the spirit complained to the head-cook, who paying no regard to his complaint, the spirit thought proper to do himself justice, and did it severely. For as the scullion was asleep one day in the kitchen, the spirit strangled him, tore him in pieces, and boiled him. He was proceeding to wreak his vengeance upon the bishop's other servants; but the affair was now no longer to be trifled with. Ecclesiastical censures were issued out against him; and these, with the assistance of exorcisms, soon obliged him to quit the country.

Cassian^b too makes mention of these goblins, who take a pleasure in putting tricks upon travellers, and leading them out of their road, but rather with a design of diverting themselves, than of doing any real harm to the travellers.

William of Paris^c says, that he knew a dancing-master, who had a familiar spirit, which was always playing him some unlucky prank, but seemed to take a particular pleasure in hindering him from sleeping, by throwing something against the wall, tumbling the furniture round the room, pulling off the bed-clothes, and sometimes dragging the man himself out of bed.

We are assured too by persons of good sense, that they have had their cloak taken from their back in an open field, their boots drawn off, and sometimes their hat thrown to the ground, with-

^b Cassian. Collat. vii. c. 32.

^c Guillelm. Parisiens. 2. part. Princip. c. viii.

out feeling any other harm; and that they have afterwards heard loud peals of laughter, and could distinguish the voice of some deceased friend, who seemed to be highly diverted with the sport.

The following story I have from a person, who declares he is as fully satisfied of the truth of it, as if he had been an eye-witness. Count Despilliers, who in his youth was captain of a troop of cuirassiers, being in winter-quarters in Flanders, was one day waited on by a soldier of his troop, who begged he would order him another lodging, because he was tormented by a spirit, which came every night into his chamber, and would not let him sleep. The count, laughing at the man's simplicity, sent him away without paying any regard to his petition. A few days after, the soldier came a second time, with the same request, and the count, in answer, snatched up his cane, and would have laid it across his shoulders; but the man avoided it, by getting quickly out of the way. However, this did not deter him from coming a third time, when he protested to the count, that he could bear it no longer, and that he should be forced to desert, if he could not get another lodging. Upon this, Despilliers, who knew him to be a brave soldier, and no fool, told him, with an oath, after the German custom, that he would come and lie with him that night, and see what was the matter.

At ten in the evening the count came to the soldier's lodging, and placing his pistols upon the table in good order, lay down, having his sword by him, by the soldier's side, in a bed without curtains. About midnight he heard something come into the chamber, which in an instant turned the bed upside down, and confined them both under the bedding. The count had the greatest difficulty in the world to disengage himself, and find his

his

his sword and pistols; after which he went home in great confusion. The soldier had another lodging provided him next morning, and slept for the future without interruption.

M. Despilliers made no scruple of telling the story to any one that desired to hear it. He was a man of the most intrepid courage, and died a field-marshal in the service of the emperor Charles VI. and governor of the fortress of Seguedin. I have not the least doubt, says a worthy officer, who writes me this account, that spirits do sometimes come again, but I have often been in places where they are said to appear, and have done all I could to see them, but have never succeeded. I was even once in a company of more than four thousand persons, who all affirmed that they saw a spirit, but I was the only one of the whole assembly that saw nothing. This letter is dated this very year 1745.

XXXIV.

Instances of spectres seen in Sweden, and of magicians which sell winds.

THESE goblins, or familiar spirits, which wait upon people in the shape of men or women, are very common in Sweden, and the other northern countries. Olaus Magnus * gives a particular account of a sort of nymphs that reside in caves in the midst of forests, and foretel future events. Some of them are good-humoured and beneficent, others cross and mischievous. They appear and speak to those who consult them, and then disappear and vanish. It is a common thing also for travellers and shepherds to see phantoms

* Olaus Mag. Hist. l. iii. c. 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14.

in the night, which scorch up the place where they appear, in such a manner, that no grass, or any thing that is green, ever grows there afterwards.

Olaus says also, that it was a common practice with the Finlanders, before their conversion to Christianity, to sell winds to mariners, by giving them a cord with three knots, informing them at the same time, that by untying the first knot, they would have a fair and gentle gale; upon untying the second, the wind would be more violent, and upon loosing the third, it would blow a dangerous storm. It is said, that they still make use of this secret, but not so often as formerly; and they are particularly cautious of raising storms, which they never do but when they are determined to wreak their vengeance upon an enemy, by putting him in danger of shipwreck.

These stories belong rather to the subject of magick than of apparitions, as also what he relates of the Bothnians, who by beating violently with a hammer upon a brazen frog or serpent, laid on an anvil, fall into a trance, during which the evil spirit informs them of things which happen at a great distance from the place where they are.

But the strongest proof that the devil is concerned in these apparitions, services, and predictions, is, that they tend manifestly to deceive, to hurt and damn men, by alienating them from the worship of the true God.

I could produce several witnesses to attest, that they have seen and heard goblins or familiar spirits, which have drawn the curtains of beds, and dragged off the clothes by force, notwithstanding the utmost efforts of the persons in the bed to keep them on. At other times, they have thrown showers of stones into a house, appeared like a light in a chamber, taken children out of their cradles, opened and shut doors with a great noise, removed
and

and overturned chairs and benches, and afterwards restored them to their proper places. It is even asserted, that some of them rock people in their beds, without doing them any harm; there are others which sing or whistle, or burst out into a loud laugh, or play pranks.

XXXV.

Of the lares, manes, and lemures of the Latins.

THE goblins, or familiar spirits, last mentioned, seem to be much like those which the Romans called *Lares*, or domestick gods, who were thought to be the souls of some deceased persons of the family, for which they still preserved an affection, and were honoured by it with little offerings.

There was another sort of spirits, which the Romans called *Lemures*, who were¹ generally wicked and mischievous. Ovid speaks of a festival celebrated to appease them, and offerings made to them. The manner of celebrating this festival, called *Lemuria*, was as follows. The master of the family getting up at midnight, when every one was asleep, went barefoot to a neighbouring fountain, in profound silence, and full of a religious horror, making only a little noise with his fingers to drive away the manes, who might otherwise have disturbed the ceremony. Having washed his hands three times, he returned homewards, throwing over his head some large black beans, which he had in his mouth, saying, *I redeem myself and my family with these beans*, which he repeated nine times, without looking behind him; supposing that one of these lemures, though invisible, followed him, and go-

¹ See Apuleius de Deo Socratis.

thered up the beans. When he came home, he took water a second time, gave a stroke upon a brazen vessel, and desired the spirit to quit his house, repeating nine times these words, *Retire, ye manes of my ancestors.*

The noise made upon a brazen vessel to drive away the manes, is a circumstance that merits some attention. Lucian^m has made the same observation, and says, that spectres in general make off, upon hearing the sound of brass or iron. Theocritusⁿ introduces a shepherd saying, that he dare not play upon his flute at noon, for fear of provoking the god Pan, who takes his nap at that time, and is very angry at being disturbed by finging.

The heathens, being uncertain whether the souls of their ancestors were in a state of happiness or misery, whether they were good or evil spirits, gave them the name of manes, and added to it that of God^o; *Cum verò incertum est quæ cuique sortitio advenerit, utrum lar sit an larva, nomine manem Deum nuncupant; scilicet & honoris gratiâ Dei vocabulum additum est.*

XXXVI.

Of spirits which desire prayers.

THERE are spirits, whose errands seem to tend to some good, such as those who desire to have masses said for them, or come to promote any other good work.

Peter, surnamed the Venerable, abbot of Cluni^p,

^m Lucian in Philopseud. p. 833.

^o Apuleius de Deo Socrat.

^p Biblioth. Cluniac. p. 1283.

ⁿ Theocr. Idill. i. Initio. & seq. c. xxiii, xxiv, xxv, &c. Vide Scholiaften.

tells a story of a good priest, named Stephen, who having heard the confession of a nobleman, named Guido, who had been mortally wounded in a battle, the nobleman appeared to him some time after his decease, in compleat armour, and desired him to bid his brother Anselm restore an ox, which he [Guido] had taken from a peasant; and to make amends for the damage done to a certain village, upon which he had laid a tax, though he had no right to do so, as it did not belong to his jurisdiction. These two sins he had forgot, he said, to reveal in his last confession; and was grievously tormented for it; and as a proof, added he, of the truth of what I tell you, when you get home, you will find your house robbed, and the money gone, which you had laid by for a pilgrimage to St. Jago. The priest, upon his return home, found his chest broke open, and the money stolen; but he could not execute his commission, because Anselm, the nobleman's brother, was absent.

A few days after, Guido appeared to him again, and reproached him with his neglect of performing his request. The priest made some excuse, and soon after went to Anselm, who received him very roughly, and told him, that he was not obliged to do penance for his brother's sins.

But all was not yet over. The ghost appeared a third time to the priest, and expressed great dissatisfaction at his brother's want of compassion for him; but desired Stephen himself to assist him in this extremity. The good priest did so, and restored the value of the ox; but being unable to make satisfaction for the rest, all he could do was to say prayers, and give alms in his behalf. And this, with a recommendation to the prayers of other pious people, succeeded, for Guido appeared no more.

XXXVII.

Of a spirit heard at Epinal.

RICHERIUS, a monk of our monastery of Senones⁹, writes, that in his time, about the year 1210, there happened at the house of Hugh de la Cour, a citizen of Epinal, about eight or ten leagues from hence, a most extraordinary thing. From Christmas to Midsummer, a spirit continued in the house, doing many things, which were seen by every one, though the spirit that did them was invisible. He was heard plainly by every body, though he spoke with a hoarse, thick voice. He said, that he was the ghost of a young man of Clefentine, a village about seven leagues from Epinal, and that, in his life-time, he had quitted his wife, on account of her too great intimacy with her parish-priest.

It happened one day, that Hugh having ordered his servant to saddle and feed his horse, that he might go into the country; the servant delayed doing it, being employed about something else. In the mean time, the spirit did it for him, to the great surprise of every one.

When the master of the family was gone, the spirit desired Stephen, the son-in-law of Hugh, to give him a *denier*, that he might make an offering of it to St. Goeric, the tutelar saint of Epinal. Upon this, Stephen offered him an old *denier* of Provins, and laid it upon the threshold of the door; but the spirit refused to take it, and insisted upon having a good *denier* of Toul. At

⁹ Richerius, l. iv. c. 39. cilegium, with Richerius's
This story is not printed in remarks. But it is extant in
the third volume of the Spi- our original manuscript.

last the man complied, and laying the piece upon the threshold, it immediately disappeared; and the night following there was heard a great noise in St. Goeric's church, like that of a man walking to and fro.

Another time, Hugh having bought some fish for the family dinner, the spirit seized it, and carried it into the garden behind the house, where he laid part of it upon a little bench, and pounded the rest in a mortar; and upon their searching after the fish, he told them plainly what he had done with it. Another time, Hugh having a mind to be let blood, bid his daughter get some bandages; when immediately the spirit went and fetched a new shirt out of another room, and tore it in several pieces, which he presented to the master of the house, bidding him chuse the best.

Another day, the maid-servant having hung out several pieces of women's linnen in the garden to dry, the spirit carried them all into an upper room, and folded them up as neatly as the best laundress could have done. But what is very remarkable, is, that during the whole six months that the spirit was heard in this house, he did no one any mischief.

XXXVIII.

Story of a spirit at Verona.

IN the year 1325, a man, named Guy^r de Tornes, died at Verona; and about eight days after, he was heard distinctly speaking to his wife, both by her and several of the neighbours, with-

^r Herman Corner. Chronic.
p. 1006, t. ii. Scriptor. Me-
dii Ævi à Georg. Eccard.

Lyps. 1723. Ex Chronic.
Lombard.

out being seen. The wife laid the affair before the prior of the Dominicans, and the professor of divinity, who resolving to examine into the truth of the fact, desired the mayor of the city to furnish them with two hundred men armed, whom they placed, by four and four, in every corner of the house, and carried with them, in a box, the body of our Saviour. They begun with saying mattins, and repeating the seven penitential psalms: after which, the dead man begun to speak as usual, and made very pertinent answers to several questions in divinity, which the prior put to him, and confessed, that he was in purgatory, on account of certain sins which he had committed, and for which he had not done penance, but that he should be released four years sooner, on account of the masses which had been said for him by a poor priest, who was his relation.

Being asked, how he contrived to speak, without having the necessary organs; he answered, that every departed spirit had a power of forming, out of the air, organs of speech; and added, that the fire of hell acts not upon the soul by its own natural power, but by the act of God, who makes use of fire as his instrument.

The prior of the Dominicans came again to the house on Twelfth-day-eve, and put several more questions to the spirit, who answered them all; and then left off speaking, and departed like a gentle breath of air, passing through the midst of the company that was met together.

XXXIX.

Story of a spirit at Lagny upon the Maine.

THE chronicle of Metz relates, that in the year 1330, at Ligny (or rather Lagny) upon the Maine, about six leagues from Paris, there died a good lady of that town, whose ghost came again several times, and conversed, in the presence of more than twenty-eight persons, with her father, her sister, her daughter, her son-in-law, and her other friends, earnestly requesting their prayers in her behalf, and above all, that masses might be said upon her private account; for that masses said expressly for particular souls, delivered those souls out of purgatory. She likewise revealed several secrets, which were known to God only; but confined her discoveries entirely to good deeds, and said nothing of any evil that had been done. Some suspicions arising of her being an evil spirit, a Franciscan, who was present, repeated to her some of the Gospel of St. John, *In the beginning, &c.* and then they said to her the *Lord's Prayer*, the *Belief*, and the *Confession*. As a farther test, she was asked by a priest, if he should go and fetch the holy sacrament: to which she answered, that it was there already, for her father, and several others of the company, had received it on Christmas-day, which was the Tuesday before. She further informed them, that last All-souls day, there had been released out of purgatory, by means of prayers and masses, no less than six thousand and seventy-five souls; and added, that she was attended by two angels, a good and a bad one; and that the good angel revealed to her all these particulars.

XL.

Apparitions of deceased persons, and of devils.

FATHER Taillepied, a Cordelier, and professor of divinity at Rouen, author of a treatise upon the subject of apparitions, asserts, that about ten years before his book was printed (which was at Rouen in 1600) in the convent of the Cordeliers de l'Observance at Nice in Provence, a friar of his acquaintance, named Gabriel, appeared to several persons in the convent, and spoke with a hoarse broken voice, as if it came from the bottom of a pot. He desired that care might be taken to satisfy a tradesman of Marseilles, of whom he had bought a suit of clothes, which was not yet paid for. Upon their asking what he meant by making so much noise, he answered, that it was not he, but an evil spirit that wanted to appear in his room, and would fain have hindered him from discovering the cause of his uneasiness.

XLI.

Melancthon's evidence concerning the apparition of a spirit.

PHILIP Melancthon, whose testimony in matters of this nature, ought not to be suspected, relates, that his own aunt, whose husband died when she was big with child, and near her delivery, saw, as she was sitting one evening by her fire, two persons come into the house, one of which

* Taillepied, *Traité de l'Apparition des Esprits*, c. xv. p. 173.

* Philip. Melanct. de Exam. Theolog. t. i. Oper. fol. 326, 327.

was like her deceased husband, and the other looked like a great overgrown Franciscan friar. At first she was greatly frightened, but her husband bade her compose herself, for he had something of consequence to communicate to her; and then desired the Franciscan to step for a moment into the next room, till he should have discovered his intentions to his wife. When his companion was gone, he desired her to get masses to be said for his soul, and pressed her earnestly to give him her hand, without fear. Upon her scrupling to do it, he assured her, that she should feel no harm. At last she put her hand into his, and drew it back again, without feeling any pain, but it was so scorched, that it continued black all the rest of her life. After this, the husband called in the great Franciscan, and they disappeared. Melancthon gives it as his opinion, that they were two spectres; and adds, that many such instances are related by persons of undoubted credit.

The same author tells a story of a monk's coming one day, and knocking loudly at Luther's door, desiring to speak with him. Being admitted, I want, says he, to have a conference with you about some popish errors. Luther then bid him open his mind; and the monk having proposed, at first, some syllogisms, which Luther easily answered, he proceeded to more difficult arguments; when Luther, being a little discomposed, answered peevishly, you are troublesome; I have something else to mind at present. However, he answered these arguments also; but observing that the hands of the pretended monk were like a bird's claws, Luther said to him, Art not thou he of whom it is said in Genesis, *The seed of the woman shall bruise the serpent's head*; adding, *but thou shalt not swallow up all*. At these words the devil was confounded, and retired, grumbling, with a great noise, leaving the

the room full of a noisome smell that lasted several days.

XLII.

Story of the mark of a hand made upon a handkerchief by a soul from purgatory.

HAVING been informed, that at Toul there was a person, named M. Casmet, who had in his possession a handkerchief, on which there was the mark of a hand made by a spirit, as a proof of his suffering in the flames of purgatory; I writ to a gentleman at Toul, to send me an account of it, and I received the following answer, dated the 18th of January, 1745.

I have been with M. Casmet, one of the bailiffs of our city of Toul, in order to enquire carefully into the story of the spirit, which you desire me to write you an account of. I have the honour to inform you, that there are no witnesses of the fact now alive; but M. Casmet assures me, that he had the story from his uncle, M. George, who was minister of the parish of Fontenoy, about a league from this city. The fact, as I have it from him, is as follows.

Madame de Fontenoy kept in her house a nurse, by whose carelessness a child was stifled in its cradle; and the nurse was so concerned at the accident, that she died soon after. A few days after her death, the housekeeper, named Mademoiselle Petit, complained that she was disturbed by something, which followed her wherever she went. Imagining it to be a spirit, she at last asked who he was, and what he would have. The spirit answered, that she need not be frightened, that he was come again by the command of God, and should not quit her, till the time of his penance

was expired: and at last they grew so well acquainted, as to converse together for the space of two years. One day, the housekeeper having asked him some questions concerning his condition in the other world, the spirit answered, that he was in purgatory: but, says she, do you suffer any torment at present? Yes, answered the spirit, I am now all on fire; and pulling up his garment, he shewed her the flame that scorched him. I am, added the spirit, all over in the same condition; and to give you a proof of it, lend me a handkerchief. A handkerchief being given him, immediately there was the shape of a hand marked upon it, just as if it had been done with a red-hot iron, the five fingers and the palm being plainly visible.

This handkerchief was in the possession of Madame de Fontenoy till her death; when Calmet's uncle, who was minister of the parish, desired it might be given him. After his uncle's death, Calmet got it, and it is now in his custody; but I could not get a sight of it, because, he says, he has mislaid it; but he has promised to look for it, and send it me. This is all, most reverend father, that I have been able to gather of the story. If those who told it me had been witnesses of it themselves, I would have got a written attestation of it. If the handkerchief can be found, it will be an easy matter to give you a sight of it; but I have since learned, that the whole affair is a fable, and that the impression of the hand upon the handkerchief was made by a smith's apprentice, with a hot iron, in the form of a hand, in order to carry on an intrigue with the housekeeper with less interruption. I do not doubt but that most of the stories of apparitions and spirits would, in like manner, turn out to be mere knaveries, if they were enquired into, and sifted to the bottom.

The

The following story, though taken from a fabulous work of M. Gatiien des Courtitz, shews, however, what judgment we ought generally to make of these pretended apparitions. He tells us, in his Memoirs of the Count de Vordac, that this officer, in company with several other gentlemen, came to Placentia, and went to lodge at an inn, the keeper of which had just lost his mother, who died the night before. There was in the house a monkey, which used often to divert the deceased. In the evening, the master of the house having sent one of the servants up into the chamber where his mother died, in order to fetch some linnen; the servant came running down, out of breath, crying out, that he had seen his mistress, that she was come again, and was now lying in the bed. Another of the servants, who fancied he had more courage, went up, and returned in the same manner, asserting positively that she was in the bed. The master of the house then resolved to go up alone, but was persuaded to take with him a maid, with a light. Immediately after, he came down in a violent hurry, and cried out, in Italian, to the gentlemen, who were at supper; Yes, gentlemen, it is too true—My poor mother—there she is—I saw her myself—but I had not courage to speak to her. For God's sake, go up, and be witnesses of the truth of what I say.

Vordac observing that no one offered to stir, took a candle, and addressing himself to a Dominican friar, who was one of the company, Come, father, says he, let you and I go together. With all my heart, answered the friar, provided you will go foremost; and accordingly they went up, with each a candle in his hand. And now the rest of the company, and even the master of the house and the servants, would go up too. When they were got to the room, and had drawn aside the

the bed-curtains, Vordac discovered the figure of an elderly black woman, much wrinkled, with a cap on her head, looking boldly at them, and making ridiculous grimaces, as if she meant to laugh at them, and frighten them. Upon this, they bade the innkeeper come forward, and see whether it was his mother. Ah! answered he, it is she—my poor, dear mother!—The servants too all asserted that it was their mistress.

Vordac then desired the Dominican, as he was a priest, to speak to her, and ask her business. The friar begun with, Who are you? What would you have? and at the same time besprinkled the spectre with holy water; but his hand trembling for fear, he was uncommonly liberal in the quantity. The monkey at this quitted the bed, and leaped upon the friar's head, who began to make off, and cry out with all his might; the monkey in the mean time biting and scratching his pate. The priest took to the door, and the rest of the company followed his example; but Vordac, who was last, saw plainly that it was nothing but a monkey in a woman's head-dress. The priest bestirred himself so effectually, that at last he shook off the monkey, and the animal, in falling, dropped its head-dress, and was immediately known by all the family. Thus the whole scene terminated in a laugh; and it was found out, that the monkey, having often seen his mistress dress her head, had taken a fancy to imitate her, and then had lain down in the bed where she died.

Alexander ab Alexandro^u, a famous lawyer, tells a story of a person that appeared after death to a friend of his, a grave, serious, and sensible man. This friend of Alexander's accompanied a sick acquaintance to Crema in Italy, for the benefit of the

^p Alexand. ab Alexand. Genial. Dier. t. ii. c. 9.

bath: and they came to an inn upon the road, where the sick man died: the other, having procured him as decent a funeral as the circumstances would allow, turned homeward, and took up his lodgings that night in a little inn. In the night, his deceased friend appeared to him, and having seemingly undrest himself, was coming into the bed. The other retreated as far as he could, and at last pushed back with his foot the spectre, which was still coming nearer, but felt such extreme coldness in the body of the deceased, as he had never experienced before. The spectre, being thus repulsed, at last retired; but the man was so struck with the appearance, that he fell sick, and was in a great deal of danger. There are several such stories of apparitions, and fore-tokens of the death of relations, to be met with in Marcilius Ficinus, l. i. Epistol. p. 601.

I myself have been assured by a sensible, learned priest, who was not in the least given to fancies, that as he was lying down one day, perfectly awake, in a room next to that where one of his brethren had died a few days before, he heard, as it were, at a distance the voice of the deceased, telling him that there was money hid in the straw-bed. The bed was immediately searched, but nothing found. But two or three days after, the money was found in a purse upon the dunghill, where the straw-bed of the deceased had been shook out. This departed soul was probably uneasy at his having forgot to mention the place where he had laid this money, which he had received by virtue of the office that he held in the monastery.

XLIII.

Reasons for being upon our guard against ghosts who desire our prayers.

A Frequent errand of ghosts is to desire prayers, masses, pilgrimages, restitution of wrongs, or payment of debts. The consequence of this would naturally be, that these ghosts must be in purgatory, and that they want the assistance of the living for the alleviation of their sufferings, or for their arriving sooner at a state of happiness. But people ought to be upon their guard against these ghosts, and their petitions. St. Paul gives us warning^a; that *Satan is often transformed into an angel of light*; and it is elsewhere intimated, that it is not given to every one to know the depths of *Satan*^b.

This malicious and lying spirit, is often found among the prophets and children of God; he intrudes himself into the most holy mysteries, perverts the most sacred ceremonies, and makes use even of the sacraments, the words of Scripture, and the prayers of the church, to seduce and deceive, and insinuate himself into the confidence of the simple, that he may thereby share in the honour due to the Almighty, and, if he can, appropriate it all to himself. Many a cure has he wrought, many a holy action has he advised, many a laudable enterprize has he set on foot, in order to allure the faithful into his snares.

Bodinus, in his *Demonomania*^c, mentions more than one instance of devils, who have appeared, and desired the prayers of pious Christians, and

^a 2 Cor. xi. 14.

^b Revelations ii. 24.

^c Bodin. Demonom. l. iii.

c. 6. fol. 157.

have even been seen in a praying posture over a grave, in order to insinuate thereby, that the person buried there stands in need of prayers. Nay, it is not an uncommon thing for the soul of some wicked wretch, or the devil in the shape of such a one, to come and desire masses, in order to have it thought, that he is in purgatory, and by this means, to possess others with a groundless and even dangerous hope of being saved, notwithstanding their wicked lives, and impenitent deaths.

Is it not also a notorious fact, that wizards and magicians have frequently cast out devils; and that Satan has thought proper to obey his own tools, in order to raise their credit, and have it thought that they act by the power of God? We are assured, that Apollonius of Tyana, and Simon Magus, frequently practised this artifice: and the damned, at the day of judgment, will say to our Saviour, *Lord, have we not in thy name cast out devils? and in thy name done many wonderful works?*

The Jews were so fully persuaded that the devil has a power of casting out devils, by a malicious and dangerous collusion, that they accused our Saviour of casting out devils by Beelzebub, the prince of the devils; and our Saviour makes no other defence, than by alledging the improbability of Beelzebub's destroying his own kingdom; which would evidently have been the case, if he had cast out devils in confirmation of the truth of the Gospel, which tended to extirpate all idolatry, superstition, and corruption of manners.

With regard, therefore, to the case before us, whenever the devil comes to desire masses or prayers, it is not with a design of promoting true and substantial devotion among Christians, or of succouring such departed souls as want the intercession

^d Matth. vii. 22, 23.

^e Matth. xii. 24.

of the living, and are in a condition of being benefited by their good offices. These pious ends are far from his intentions. His view is to seduce the simple, gain their confidence, persuade them that impenitent sinners may be saved; and by this means encourage them to continue in a reprobate state, and rely upon the prayers and good works of others: which can be of service to such only as die in a state of grace, charity, and righteousness, but are not wholly purified from all venial stains. *For no defiled thing shall in any wise enter into the kingdom of heaven^f.*

XLIV.

The devil proved to be the author of most of those supernatural events, which do not tend to good.

PORPHYRY, who was a heathen, being consulted by Anebo, an Egyptian priest, whether persons who foretel future events, and work miracles, do it by any extraordinary qualities of their own souls, or by the assistance of other spirits, gives it as his opinion, that they do it by means of certain evil spirits, who are naturally fond of mischief, and assume all sorts of shapes, and are for ever meddling in every thing that happens, whether good or evil; but, in fact, they never incline men to do any thing that is really and essentially good.

St. Austin, who^g quotes this passage of Porphyry, lays great stress upon his evidence; and adds, that all supernatural effects, produced by particular modulations of voice, or by means of figures and phantoms, are the work of the devil,

^f Revelat. xxi. 27.

^g August. de Civit. Dei, l. x. c. 11, 12:

who takes advantage of the errors and blindness of men; and that every miraculous work, which does not tend to promote the worship of the true God, ought to be considered as a diabolical illusion. The other fathers of the church, particularly Minutius Felix, St. Cyprian, and Arnobius, agree with St. Augustin, in attributing every supernatural event of this sort, to the operation of evil spirits^b.

XLV.

Of spirits in the hollows of mountains, and bottoms of mines.

IN the bottom of the deepest minesⁱ, it is a common thing for spirits to appear in the habit of miners, running up and down very officiously, as if they were busy at work; digging for the ore, laying it in heaps, drawing it out of the mine, turning the crane-wheel, and, in short, seeming to be deeply employed in assisting the workmen, without doing any thing all the while. These spirits are never mischievous, except when they are insulted or made game of, and then they generally revenge themselves by throwing something at the offender. It happened once, that one of these genii, being insulted by a miner, who had bid him go to the gallows, twisted the man's neck in such a manner, that his face came between his shoulders. The miner, however, did not die of it, but continued all his life in that condition.

Georgius Agricola^k, author of a very learned treatise upon metals, and the art of mining, dis-

^b Minut. Felix in Octavio. Cyprian. de Idolat. Arnob. ii. 6.

ter. lib. de Phantasm.

^k Georg. Agricól. de Animalib. subterr. p. 501.

ⁱ Taillepie, p. 136. Lava-

tinguishes

tinguishes the spirits which appear in mines into two or three sorts. Some of them, he says, are deformed and little, like dwarfs; others appear like old men, bent with age, and in the habit of miners, with their shirts tucked up, and a piece of leather tied round their waists. There are others who mimic the actions of men, are always in good humour, and never do any mischief, but all their seeming labour produces no real effect.

There are also mines which are infested with mischievous spirits, that hurt and drive away the workmen, and sometimes kill them, so that they are forced to give over working some very rich mines. This was the case of a mine at Anneberg, called the *Crown of Roses*, where a spirit, in the shape of an unruly snorting horse, killed twelve miners at once, and forced the undertakers to quit the mine, though it turned out very profitably. At another mine in Sihuberg, called St. Gregory's mine, there appeared a spirit, with a black hood over its head, which seized a miner, and carried him up to a considerable height above the ground, and then letting him fall, wounded him in a very dangerous manner.

Olaus Magnus¹ says, that there are six sorts of devils usually seen in mines, particularly the most profitable silver mines; that these devils appear in various shapes, and employ themselves in breaking the rock, drawing up the buckets, and turning the wheels; that they sometimes burst out into peals of laughter, and play a thousand apish tricks; but the design of it all is to entrap the poor miners, and crush them under the rocks, or entice them into some frightful dangers, that they may be tempted to curse and swear, and speak blas-

¹ Olaus Magnus, l. vi. c. 9.

phemy. Sometimes these tricks have been carried to such a height, that many a rich mine has been deserted for fear of mischief.

XLVI.

A solution of the question, Whether the devil has the keeping of hidden treasure?

UNDER the head of apparitions may be reduced the subject of hid treasure, which is commonly imagined to be under the keeping of the devil. It cannot surely be denied ^m, that the devil has knowledge of treasure concealed under ground, and of riches lost by shipwrecks; and that he may, by God's permission, communicate this knowledge to men. But this is a thing that seldom happens; and experience shews us, that witches, wizards, and, in short, all dealers with the devil in money-matters, are generally the poorest and most wretched of Mankind. M. Remi, in his *Demonolatria*, mentions several persons whom he had juridically examined, as lieutenant-general of Lorraine, at a time when this country swarmed with wizards and witches ⁿ; and he observed, that all those who fancied they had received money from the devil, found nothing in their purses but pieces of broken pots, lumps of coal, leaves of trees, or some other trumpery, of no value.

The reverend father Abram, a jesuit, in his history of the university of Pont-à-Mousson, which is yet in manuscript, relates a story of a young man of good family, but in indifferent circumstances, who went into the army, and served among

^m Delrio, Disquisit. Magic. ⁿ Remi, Demonolatr. c. iv.
l. ii. Qu. 12. p. 100, 111, ann. 1506.
112.

the common servants and suttlers. His parents hearing it, took him thence, and sent him to school; but not liking the confinement which his studies required, he left the school, with a resolution to return to his old way of life. On the road he fell in with a man dressed in silk, but black, and hideously ugly, who asked him where he was going, and why he was so melancholy. It is in my power, added the stranger, to make you easy, if you will give yourself to me.

The young man, imagining that he meant to hire him as a servant, desired time to consider of it; but beginning to have some suspicion of his fine promises, he looked at him more attentively, and observing that his left foot was cloven like an ox's hoof, he was exceedingly frightened, and, crossing himself, called upon the name of Jesus; at which the spectre immediately disappeared.

Three days after, the same figure appeared to him again, and asked him if he was come to any resolution. The young man answered, that he did not want a master. The spectre then asked him where he was going. I am going, says he, to such a city, mentioning its name. Upon this, the devil threw down before him a purse, which chinked as it fell, and contained thirty or forty Flemish crowns, among which there were twelve which looked like gold, and seemed fresh, as if they were just come from the mint. In the purse there was also a powder, which the spectre told him was of a very subtil nature.

The devil then proceeded to give him some abominable lectures how he should gratify his passions, and advised him, above all things, to leave off using holy water, and worshipping the Host, which he called, by way of derision, a little cake. The lad being shocked at such discourse, crossed himself over his heart; when immediately he was
thrown

thrown to the ground with such violence, that he lay there half-dead for near an hour; and as soon as he was able to get up, he went home to his mother, grew penitent, and mended his manners. The pieces which seemed to be gold, and newly coined, were found, upon trial, to be nothing but brass.

My design in mentioning this story is to shew, that the devil's sole view is to cheat, and corrupt the morals of those whom he flatters with fair promises. Nor is he more to be trusted, even when he carries his kindness so far, as to pretend to give them money.

It is not many years since I was consulted, by two learned and sensible priests, about a thing which happened at Orbé, a village of Alsace, near the abbey of Paris. Two men of this place asserted, that they had seen, in their garden, a coffer come out of the ground, which they imagined to be full of money; but upon their attempting to lay hold of it, it drew back, and hid itself in the ground afresh; and that this had happened oftener than once.

Theophanes^o the annalist, a writer of credit and gravity under the year of Christ 408, relates, that Cabades, king of Persia, having got intelligence that there was a castle situated between Persia and India, in which there was kept vast quantities of gold, silver, and jewels, resolved to make himself master of the place. But the thing was not so easily accomplished; for these treasures were under the protection of certain devils, who would suffer no one to come near them.

To get over this obstacle, the king called for the assistance of all the Magi and Jews that were about the court, who employed their spells and ex-

^o Theophanes, Chronograph. An. 408.

orcisms to no purpose; for the devils obstinately kept possession of their fortress. At last the king thought of the Christians, and sent for the metropolitan bishop of the church of Persia, desiring him to exert himself to recover the treasure, and dislodge the devils. The prelate having celebrated the sacrifice of the mass, and communicated, went to the place, and quickly put the devils to flight, and the king took quiet possession of the castle.

XLVII.

Instances which seem to prove that the devil has the keeping of hid treasures.

AS I was lately telling this last story to a person of distinction^p, he informed me, that in the island of Malta there were two knights, who having hired a slave, that pretended to understand the art of raising the devil, and forcing him to discover secrets, carried him to an old castle, where it was thought that a great deal of treasure was hid. The slave performed his ceremonies, and after some time, the devil burst open a rock, and a coffer came out of the opening. Upon the slave's attempting to seize it, it fell back into the rock again. This was repeated more than once; and the slave, finding his efforts vain, came and told the two knights what had happened; adding, that he was so weakened by the fatigue he had undergone, that he wanted a dram to recruit his spirits. When he had drank, he returned to the charge once more, and soon after a great noise was heard: upon which the two knights went down into the cavern with a light, and found the slave stone-dead, with his body mangled all over, as if he had been cut with

^p M. L'Abbé Guiot, governor of the pages at Luneville.

penknives.

penknives. The wounds were all in the form of a cross, and his body so full, that they could not put a finger between them. The knights immediately carried him to the sea-side, and threw him in, with a stone tied to his neck. If there were any necessity for it, the names of the persons, and the time when the thing happened, could easily be mentioned.

The same gentleman told me another story, upon the same occasion, of a thing that happened about fourscore years ago, to an old woman at Malta. She was informed, it seems, by a genius, that there was in her cellar a treasure of considerable value, belonging to one of the knights, a man of great quality; and she was ordered to let him know it. The woman went as she was commanded, but could not get audience of the knight. The night following the same genius appeared to her again, and repeated his commands; and upon her scrupling to obey, treated her so roughly, that she was forced to go. She then told the servants, that she would not leave the house till she had seen their master; and being admitted, she related to him what had happened. The knight, upon hearing the story, resolved to go to the woman's house, and took with him several people, furnished with proper tools for digging. After they had worked some time, there flowed in upon them such a great quantity of water, that they were forced to give over the attempt.

The knight made a confession to the inquisitor of what he had done, and received absolution; but was obliged to record the story with his own hand in the register of the inquisition.

XLVIII.

More instances of treasure discovered by devils, or departed souls.

ABOUT sixty years after this, the canons of the cathedral of Malta, having a mind to enlarge the square before their church, made a purchase of several houses, in order to pull them down, and, amongst others, of the house which belonged to this old woman. Upon digging, they found the treasure above-mentioned, which consisted of a great number of gold pieces, each about the value of a ducat, stamped with the head of the emperor Justin the first. The grand master of Malta laid claim to the treasure, as sovereign of the island, and the canons contested his right. The affair being carried to Rome, the grand master gained his suit; and the money was delivered to him, to the amount of sixty thousand ducats; but he generously gave it up to the cathedral.

Some time after this, the knight above-mentioned, who was now grown very old, recollected what had happened sixty years before, and insisted upon it that the treasure belonged to him. Being carried to the place, he knew the cellar again, and appealed to the register of the inquisition, where the former transaction was recorded, as a proof of his right. But the devil's evidence was not thought sufficient to ascertain the legality of the claim. It was looked upon, however, as a proof that the devil knew of this treasure, and had the keeping of it. The gentleman, who gave me this account, has now in his possession three or four of the pieces, which he bought of the canons of Malta.

In a book lately published^a, there is a story of a man, named Honoré Mirabel, who found, in a garden near Marseilles, a great quantity of Portugal money, by the direction of a spirit, which appeared to him one night at eleven o'clock, near a farm-house, called the *Paret*. The farmer's wife, and a servant, named Bernard, were present at the finding of the money; and it seems, that when Mirabel first discovered it, wrapped up in a dirty piece of linnen, he would not venture to touch it, fearing it was poisoned, and might kill him. He therefore took it up at the end of a crook, which he cut from an almond-tree, and carried it home, where he privately opened the packet, found it full of gold, and, out of gratitude to the spirit, ordered a few masses to be said in his behalf. Soon after, he told his good fortune to one Auquier, a man in that neighbourhood, to whom he lent forty livres, and imposed upon him a note of hand, dated the 27th of September, 1726, by which Auquier was made to acknowledge himself indebted to Mirabel in the sum of twenty thousand livres, instead of forty.

It was not long before Mirabel called upon Auquier to pay the note; and Auquier denied the whole affair. This brought on a law-suit, and on the 10th of September, 1727, sentence was given, that Auquier should be sent to prison, and put to the question. The man appealed to the parliament of Aix, where the note was decreed to be a forgery. It happened that Bernard, who was said to be present at the finding of the treasure, was not summoned; and the other witnesses could give no evidence, but upon hear-say. Only Magdalen Caillot, the farmer's wife, who was present, deposed, that she saw something wrapped up in a

^a Causes Celebres, t. xi. p. 304, & seq.

linnen cloth, and heard a chinking like gold or silver coin, and saw one piece of about the breadth of a halfpeny.

The parliament of Aix, on the 17th of February, 1728, gave orders, that Bernard, servant at the Paret-farm, should be examined; which was done several times, and he deposed, that he had seen neither treasure, nor linnen, nor coin. Another order, of the 2d of June, 1728, commissions the attorney-general to apply for ecclesiastical censures, upon the facts as stated in the proceedings. A citation, upon this, was published, and fifty-three witnesses examined; and on the 18th of February, 1729, a final sentence was given, by which Auquier obtained judgment, and was discharged the court. Mirabel was condemned to the galleys for life, after having first suffered the question, and Caillot was fined ten livres.

If these stories, concerning the appearance of spectres, which have the custody of hidden wealth, were narrowly sifted, a great deal of superstition and whimsy would certainly be found in most of them, as well as in this last.

Delrio mentions several instances of people, who have lost their lives in a miserable manner, by searching after hidden treasure: and each of them furnishes evident proofs of the lying, treacherous tricks of the devil; and shews that his power is confined, and his malice defeated by the will of God. They afford also melancholy instances of the impiety, avarice, and idle curiosity of man, and of his confidence in the prince of darkness, justly punished with the loss of fortune, life, and even soul itself.

* Delrio, Disquis. Magic. l. ii. p. 112.

Johannes Vierus^{*}, in his treatise concerning the juggles of devils, printed at Basil in the year 1577, says, that in his time, that is, about the year 1530, the devil made a discovery to a priest of Nuremberg of a great quantity of treasure, which was hid in a cave near that city, in a chrystal vase. The priest took with him a friend to bear him company; and they dug in the place described, where they saw, in a vault, a sort of coffer, by which there lay a great black dog. The priest stepped up briskly to seize the treasure; but he was scarce got within the vault, when it fell in, and crushed him to death; and the vault was filled up with earth as before.

XLIX.

Of the Ignis Fatuus, or Will-with-a-wisp.

THERE are many who, in the catalogue of spirits, rank those meteors, or ignes fatui, which are frequently seen in meadows, upon rivers, and in church-yards; as also the phantoms which are seen in burying-grounds, downs, fields of battle, and other places.

Diodorus Siculus[†] observes, that in Egypt, and particularly that part of it which is next to Syria, there are frequently seen in the air, especially when it is calm and still, the shapes of animals of different sorts. Some of them seem to be quite at rest, others in motion: they are sometimes known to retire, but generally they pursue those that endeavour to run away from them, surround them, and put them in mortal fear. The inhabitants of the coun-

^{*} Johan. Vierus de Præ-
stigiis Dæmon. l. ii. c. 4.
p. 159.

[†] Diodor. Sicul. l. iii. p.
184, or 128.

try, who know the nature of these meteors, are under no concern about them; but strangers are frequently frightened, taking them for spectres.

Diodorus gives a physical explication of this phenomenon, and observes, that in Libya the air is generally still, and that the clouds, which are formed by vapours and exhalations, being not dissipated by wind, are very much condensed, and so form a variety of figures, more according to the fancy of the beholder, than with any real foundation in fact. Upon the air's being put in motion, by a person's running away, or even by the flowing of a river or brook, the exhalation follows that motion; and it is no wonder if the person, whom it overtakes, is heartily frightened.

Pliny^a also observes, that in Africa it is common to meet with human figures, which vanish, and are dissipated in a moment: and probably he means to describe the same thing with Diodorus.

King Charles the ninth of France, being once a hunting in the forest of Lyons in Normandy^x, there appeared a fiery spectre, which frightened all the king's attendants to such a degree, that they rode off, and left him alone. The king, drawing his sword, galloped up briskly towards the spectre, which immediately disappeared, and left the king in some degree of terror. But there is no doubt of its being only an inflamed vapour, which was dissipated by the agitation of the air.

The poet Lucretius^y delivers it as his opinion, that all the various species of images, spectres, and phantoms, are nothing but the external coats of objects, which are dispersed about in the air, just as the sloughs of snakes are shed in summer, and

^a Plin. Hist. Natural. l. vii. c. 2.

^x Daniel, Hist. de France, t. iii. 1072.

^y Lucret. l. iv.

scattered about by the wind. He thinks it needless to prove the actual existence of these shapes, or to enquire into their origin, or the possibility of their existing: he takes it for granted, that these phantoms, spectres, or spirits, are seen, or, at least, that people fancy they see them: which is a sufficient proof that the modern opinions, with regard to these matters, have always prevailed in the world.

L.

Of obsessions and possessions by evil spirits.

UNDER the head of apparitions may be reduced the case of *obsessions* by the devil, which I distinguish from *possessions*, by defining the latter to be an internal acting of the devil upon the person whom he molests, while in the former, his influence and power are wholly external. We have an instance of *possession* in the case of Saul, who is said *to be troubled by an evil spirit*; and we may suppose, that this spirit contrived, from time to time, to set his melancholy humours a working, or perhaps took advantage of the natural motion of these humours, to act within him more efficaciously, and excite him to hatred and jealousy against David. An instance of *obsession* is the case of Sarah, the daughter of Raguel^b, who was attended by an evil spirit, that destroyed her seven first husbands.

There are many stories (but, I think, not to be depended upon) told of women, who have been put to death by satyrs and devils, out of love and jealousy, because they could not gratify their incli-

^a 1 Sam. xvi. 14.

^b Tob. iii. 8.

nations with them*. The devil, it is certain, has frequently appeared in the shape of a goat or satyr: and Jamblichus^a speaks of a spectre, in the form of a he-goat, who was desperately in love with a woman, named Simonis.

It is to be observed, that in the instance quoted by Philostratus, the devil kills the women whom he cannot debauch; but in the case of Sarah, the devil Asmodeus put only her husbands to death, and probably on account of their incontinence in the enjoyment of the lawful pleasures of the marriage-bed.

In the life of St. Bernard*, we read of a woman of Nantes in Bretagne, who had, or fancied she had, an intrigue with the devil, who visited her every night, even when she was in bed with her husband. This intercourse of gallantry had now continued for six years, when the woman, beginning to be tired of her amour, confessed the whole to a priest, and set herself about several acts of piety, in order to obtain pardon of her fault, and to get rid of so odious a lover. Her husband, finding that he had such a rival, took his leave of her, and would cohabit with her no longer.

The devil, however, did not care to lose his mistress, and gave her notice, that St. Bernard would soon be at Nantes, that she should take care not to speak to him, for he could do her no manner of service; and that if she disobeyed this command, she might depend upon having him for an inveterate enemy, instead of an admirer.

Notwithstanding this, the affair was laid before the saint, who bade the woman take courage, and made her a present of his own staff, ordering her

* Philostrat. Vit. Apollon.
l. vi. c. 13.

^a Jamblic. in Babilonic.

* Vit. S. Bernardi, Oper.
t. ii. c. 21, p. 1260.

to take that to bed with her, instead of the devil; and if he comes, added the holy man, be not afraid of him, but let him do his worst. The devil kept his usual hour, but not daring to come near the bed, he threatened heavily that he would come and torment her, without mercy, as soon as the saint was gone.

To baulk his designs, the next Sunday St. Bernard went to the cathedral, accompanied by the bishops of Nantes and Chartres, and having furnished every person in the congregation (which was very numerous) with a lighted taper, the saint gave them a minute detail of this abominable instance of the devil's incontinence; and then exorcised and anathematized him in form, and strictly forbade him to commit any act of impurity, not only with this woman, but with any other. Upon this, the whole assembly extinguished their tapers, and the devil's vigour was from that time entirely taken from him.

LI.

Of devils, called Incubi and Succubi.

THERE is no one who has not heard of the pranks of incubi and succubi, and of women and girls seduced by the devil, so as actually to have a carnal commerce with him, or at least to fancy so. Torquemada relates, with great particularity of circumstances, a thing which happened in his own time, and to his own knowledge, in the island of Sardinia, in the city of Cagliari, where a young woman suffered herself to be debauched by the devil; and being apprehended by the inquisition, was burned to death, but flattered herself, to the very last, that her gallant would come and rescue her.

In

In the same place, he gives a story of a young woman, who being courted by a gentleman of good family, the devil assumed his shape, and conversed with the young lady for several months; and, at last, by the help of a promise of marriage, debauched her; nor was she undeceived, till the gentleman, who paid his addresses to her, informed her, that he was above fifty leagues distant from the town the day that the promise was given; and that he knew not the least of the matter. The young lady, finding herself imposed upon, retired into a convent, and there repented of the double crime of incontinence, and conversing with the devil.

I own I cannot help suspecting the truth of these two stories, and attributing them to the silly whimsies of a disturbed brain: and I am confirmed in this opinion by the story just related of St. Bernard^f, who cured a woman possessed with this fancy, by giving her his stick, and ordering her to carry it with her to bed. So trifling a circumstance as this, might be sufficient to compose the disturbances of her imagination, and prevent the bad dreams which used to proceed from this cause; and the ceremonies performed at the cathedral the following Sunday, might help to complete the cure.

As for the demoniac, mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles^g, whom the sons of Sceva exorcised, and attempted to cure by *calling over him the name of the Lord Jesus*: and the demoniacs, mentioned by Josephus^h, whom a Jew, named Eleazar, cured by putting under their noses a ring, in which was incased a root, prescribed by Solomon: with re-

^f Vit. S. Bernard. Vide
supr.

^h Joseph. Antiq. l. viii.
c. 2.

^g Acts xix. 14.

gard, I say, to these, and several others mentioned in the Gospel, their case was merely that of *obsession*, the devil acting upon them only externally.

It is observable also, that Saul was cured, or, at least, much relieved by the sound of musical instruments, and particularly by David's harp. The devil Asmodeus, that molested Sarah, and had killed her seven first husbands, was drove out of the house by a fish's liver being burned in the bed-chamber; and hence he was banished into the utmost parts of Egypt. The devils mentioned in the Gospel were put to flight by our Saviour's authority, or in his name by the apostles: and the exorcists in the primitive church expelled devils, by the confession of the heathens themselvesⁱ, who were frequently witnesses of the efficacy of their exorcisms, and the power of the name of Jesus Christ.

It is an opinion of Josephus, the Jewish historian^k, that the spirits concerned both in obsessions and possessions, are nothing but the souls of wicked men, who having seized upon the bodies of the persons affected, take pleasure in worrying and tormenting them.

But whether we suppose the agents in these cases to be devils, or damned souls, there is a difficulty in accounting for their quitting the bodies they have taken quarters in, at the sound of instruments, as in the case of Saul; or at the stink of a fish's liver, like Asmodeus, or at the smell of a certain root, as in the case of those who were exorcised by Eleazar, as Josephus relates the story.

ⁱ See Cyprian, Tertullian, and others.

^k Joseph. Antiq. l. vii. c. 25.

LII.

Whether obsessions and possessions of the devil can be cured by natural remedies.

THERE are several modern physicians¹, who think they can cure demoniacs by the use of natural means, and pretend to have made the experiment with success. Now this can be done only by correcting that natural disposition of the humours, of which the devil takes advantage; (such as was the melancholy habit of Saul, the lustful disposition of Sarah's seven husbands, and other peccant humours in other disorders) and by this means depriving the devil of all opportunity of exercising his malice, and tormenting the patient. For it cannot be denied that the evil spirit frequently makes use of the peculiar humours, and bad habit of body, which he finds in men, in order to disturb and tempt them to dissoluteness or despair.

There have been instances of persons tormented and plagued both day and night by the devil, who was always waking them out of their sleep, pulling them by the nose or ears, and, in short, never giving them any peace; but perpetually wanting to know if they had no favours to ask of him^m. Spanger, a Dominican friar and inquisitor, says, that he has condemned many wizards, who declared they were glad to be released, by death, from the tyranny of the devil, who never gave them a moment's rest, but made their life a burden to them.

¹ V. Gabriel. Clauder. 2. an. vii. p. 159. Decad. iii. Decur. anni iv. Observat. an. 3. p. 100, &c.
cap. xxxvi. p. 217. Academ. ^m Bodin. Demon. l. iii.
Leopold. Curiosor. Nat. Item c. 6. p. 155.
decad. 2. an. 2. p. 334. Item

LIII.

Of witches, and their nocturnal assemblies.

THE common notion of witches flying through the air to their nightly meetings, is now generally looked upon as fabulous; and there are several instances upon record, which prove that they do not stir from their beds, or chambers, but rub themselves with a certain grease or ointment, which makes them drowsy and insensible; and in this lethargick state they dream that they go to these assemblies, and are present at the strange pranks which are vulgarly talked of.

We read, in a book entitled *Malleus Maleficarum*, or a *Hammer for Witches*, that a woman assured the inquisitors, who had apprehended her, that she had a power of conveying herself, really and bodily, to any place that she pleased, though she was never so closely confined, or the place she went to at never so great a distance. The inquisitors, upon this, ordered her to go to such a place, to speak to such particular persons, and to bring back an answer; which having promised to do, she was shut up in a room, under lock and key. She then lay down upon the floor, as if she were dead, and though the inquisitors came in and stirred her, she continued motionless, and without any sense; so that even a lighted candle was applied to her foot, and the flesh burned, without her shewing any signs of feeling. Soon after, she came to herself, and gave an account of her errand, saying, that she had found it a very difficult journey. Upon her being asked what was the matter with her foot, she said she felt great pain in it since she came off her journey, but knew not

the meaning of it. The inquisitors then told her all that had happened, assured her that she had not quitted the room, and that the pain in her foot proceeded from a candle which they had applied to it, during her imaginary absence. The thing being too clear to be denied, she was convinced of her delusion, asked pardon for her fault, and protested she would never more be guilty of the like.

On the other hand, there are historians^a who assert, that wizards and witches, by rubbing themselves with certain drugs, are really and corporally conveyed to their nocturnal meetings. Torquemada tells a story, after Paul Grillaud, of a husband, who suspecting his wife to be a witch, was resolved to find out whether she went to the assemblies of the sisterhood, and what she did to convey herself thither. Having watched her very narrowly, at last he discovered her rubbing herself with a certain unguent; after which she took the shape of a bird, and flew away; and he saw no more of her till the next morning, when she returned to him in bed.

Upon her return, the man examined her very closely, without being able to make her confess any thing, till at last he told her what he had seen, and by the help of a good cudgel, forced her to discover the secret, and carry him with her to the next assembly. Upon his arrival, he sat down at table with the rest; but finding the dishes very insipid, he called for salt. It was some time before any was brought; but at last it came, and the man seeing it, cried out; Well, thank God, at last I have got some salt. He had scarce uttered the words, when he heard a horrible noise, and instantly the whole assembly vanished, and he

^a Alfons. à Castro ex P. Grillaud, à Castr. Tract. de Hæresib.
found

found himself alone and naked in a plain, in the midst of mountains. He walked on, and at last met with some shepherds, from whom he learned that he was three and thirty leagues distance from his own house. Upon his coming home, he laid the whole affair before the inquisitors, who apprehended his wife, and several of her accomplices, and punished them according to their deserts.

The same author relates a story of a witch returning from the rendezvous, mounted upon a devil; who hearing the bell ring for morning prayers, was so frightened, that he slipped from under his rider, and she fell into a thorn-hedge by the side of a river. Unfortunately for her, she was quite naked, with no covering but her hair flowing over her breast and shoulders. When she had recovered her fall, she saw at some distance a young man, whom, by dint of many entreaties, she at last prevailed upon to carry her to the next village, where she lived. It was a great while before he could persuade her to tell him what had happened; at last she consented, but not without conjuring, and even bribing him to keep the secret. The thing, however, could not be hindered from coming out.

If any credit could be given to these stories, and to many others of the same kind, which are in every one's mouth, one should be inclined to think, that wizards are sometimes personally conveyed to their wicked assemblies. But upon comparing these relations with others, which prove these journeys to be merely imaginary, we may safely conclude, that the common notions concerning these matters, are mere illusions of the devil, and that the wretches themselves, who fancy they fly and travel through the air, when in fact they do not stir from their places, are imposed upon by the

devil, who promotes this silly prejudice, in order to rivet them in their delusions, and seduce others to partake in their impiety. For Satan has a thousand artifices to deceive mankind, and confirm them in their errors. A disturbed imagination is frequently the source of witchcraft, impiety, and magick; and it seldom happens that persons of this stamp are not addicted to abominable lusts, irreligion, thievery, and other pernicious crimes of the same sort.

There are others who have supposed, that devils assume the form of wizards and witches going to these nocturnal meetings; and support the silly notions of the vulgar, by appearing in the shape of reputed wizards, while the persons suspected are sleeping quietly in their beds. To this purpose, there is a story told of St. Germain, bishop of Auxerre, who, as he was making a tour through his diocese, came to a village, where he supped; and observing that they were preparing another supper, he asked if they expected any fresh company; and being told that it was intended for the good women that travel by night, he understood their meaning, and determined to see the end of this adventure.

Soon after, he saw a number of devils, in the shape of men and women, come into the house, and sit down to supper. When they were settled, St. Germain charged them, at their peril, not to quit the room till he returned; and having called the family, and asked whether any one knew these people; he was answered, that they were such and such persons (mentioning their names) in the neighbourhood. Go now, says he, and see if the people you mention are at home. Accordingly a search was made, and they were all found asleep in their beds. Upon this, the saint forced the devils to
make

make a fair confession, that this was one of their methods of imposing upon mankind, and persuading them that there are wizards and witches, who frequent these nocturnal assemblies. The devils, having obeyed this mortifying injunction, retired in the utmost confusion.

I will not answer for the truth of this story, though it is found in several ancient manuscripts. is told by James de Voragine, Peter de Noels, and St. Antoninus, and is even inserted in the old breviaries of Auxerre, both in manuscript and print: on the contrary, I look upon it as an undoubted fiction. It is a proof, however, that the author and the transcribers of the story believed these nightly voyages of wizards and witches to be mere illusions of the devil. Indeed it is impossible to account for the common reports concerning wizards and witches, without having recourse to the interposition of the devil. To this must be added, a weak head, a disturbed imagination, and a mind filled with silly prejudices; and, if you will, the use of drugs, calculated to affect the brain, to stir the peccant humours, and by this means to raise whimsies, conformable to the impressions already received.

There are authors, particularly Porta, Cardan^o, and some others, who have handed down the composition of the unguents, which the dealers in witchcraft make use of to convey themselves to the general rendezvous of the society; but the only effect which they really produce, is to cause a drowsiness, to disturb the fancy, and to make them believe, that they take long journies, when they are all the while sound asleep in their beds.

^o Johan. Baptista Porta, l. ii. Cardan. Johan. Vierus de La-
Magia Naturalis Hieronym. miis, l. iii. c. 17.

LIV.

What is meant by having the garter : also instances of a supernatural speed in travelling.

THREE are also many who are disposed to treat as a mere whim, what is vulgarly called *having the garter* ; by which is meant a power of travelling at an incredible and supernatural rate, either on horseback or on foot, by virtue of a compact, either explicit or implicit, with the devil. It is certain, however, that a number of such instances are told with great confidence : and they acquire an additional degree of probability from several facts of this nature, which are related in Scripture. Such, for instance, as our Saviour's being carried by the devil upon a pinnacle of the temple at Jerusalem^a ; and thence removed to an exceeding high mountain, from whence he saw all the kingdoms of the world ; and the prophet Habakkuk's being carried by the hair of his head from Jewry to Babylon^b ; and back again, as soon as he had given his dinner to Daniel, who was shut up in the lion's den. Other instances are, that of *the hand of the Lord's being upon Elijah*, and his running from ^c Mount Carmel to Jezreel, before Ahab, who rode in his chariot ; that of St. Philip, the deacon, who was *caught away by the Spirit of the Lord*, and carried from ^d Gaza to Azotus ; and, to mention no more, St. Paul's being caught up into heaven, either in the body or out of the body^e ; (for he professes he does not know which ;) the translation of Enoch

^a Matth. iv. 5. 8.

^b Bel and the Dragon, ver. 36. 39. From Jewry to Babylon is about 200 leagues.

^c 1 Kings xviii. 46.

^d Acts viii. 40.

^e 2 Cor. xii. 2, 3.

and Elijah; and the devil's driving the herd of swine ^f into the lake of Gennesareth.

These instances, I say, give an additional degree of probability to the common stories of witches riding through the air, and of persons *having the garter*, as it is called, by means of which garter, and, I suppose, a bargain with the devil besides, they can travel prodigious distances with incredible speed; and it cannot be denied that several facts of this sort are related, which seem incontestible. It is even asserted, that the persons who make use of this diabolical art, are so oppressed with weariness, after one of these journies, that they are unable to stir; and that they require as much time to recover themselves, as would have been sufficient to go the journey at the common rate of travelling.

In some cases the devil exerts himself ^e upon the traveller's horse only; so that the horse, and not the rider, is fatigued. To this purpose Torquemada tells a story of a student of his acquaintance, a youth of great parts, and who was afterwards physician to the emperor Charles the fifth. This gentleman, when he was a student at Guadaloupe, was invited by a traveller in a religious habit, to whom he had tendered some little civility, to take part of his horse, and that he would carry him to Granada. The student refused the offer, upon account of the bad plight of the horse, which seemed to be but a very poor one, and already much jaded. At last he was prevailed upon to get up behind, and the horseman having strictly charged him not to fall asleep, because they were to travel all night without stopping, they jogged on, without any appearance of their going at an extraordinary rate. At day-break they found themselves near the city of Granada, and the horseman pursued his journey

^f Matth. viii. 31, 32.

^e Torquemada, 3 journee.

without stopping, but the student stayed in the city, extremely surprised at having travelled such a distance in a single night.

Another story, that he gives us, is of two persons, a father and son, of his acquaintance, who being upon a journey from Valladolid to Granada, passed through the village of Almeda, where they fell in with a person on horseback going the same road. Having travelled two or three leagues together, they made a stop, and the stranger spreading his cloak carefully upon the grass, so as to leave no fold or wrinkle in it, they all sat down, and bringing out their provisions; refreshed themselves for some considerable time. At last the two travellers, who were bound to Granada, ordered their servants to get ready their horses; but their companion told them they might save themselves that trouble, for they should certainly be at their journey's end before the day was over; and immediately he shewed them the town, not a quarter of a league off. He told them they were obliged to his cloak for having finished their journey so expeditiously, and desired them to say nothing to any one of what had happened.

As for the stories of wizards and witches flying through the air upon walking-sticks and broomsticks, I attempt not to account for them, but look upon them all as fabulous. However, I think that the devil must necessarily be concerned in these instances of people's travelling with such amazing expedition: and of all the stories which seem to prove it, the following is perhaps the most singular and extraordinary.

St. Antidius, bishop of Befançon, going one day, attended by his clergy, to preach in the country, fell in with a convocation of devils, assembled upon the bridge over the river Don, which run by the city, Satan himself presided at the meeting, and gave audience

audience to the inferior tribe, who were giving an account how they had executed their several commissions. Among others, St. Antidius took particular notice of one, who was as black as a negro, hideously ugly, and lean as a skeleton, who was informing the president of the assembly, that he just came from Rome, where, after a close siege of seven years, he had at last enticed the pope into an act of uncleanness; and as a proof of his victory, he produced the pope's slipper, which he had brought with him. This happened on the Thursday before Easter; and the devil boasted that the pope had committed the fact on Palm-Sunday, that is, three days before.

St. Antidius, hearing this, resolved to set out immediately for Rome, to persuade his holiness to repent immediately of his incontinence: and he ordered his clergy, who neither saw nor heard any thing that passed, to return to the city, telling them that business of the utmost consequence obliged him to go farther; that he should not be able to consecrate the holy chrism on Good-Friday; but that he would provide it some other way; and that he would certainly return on Easter-Eve. He then addressed himself to the negro-devil, whom he commanded to serve him by way of horse, and to carry him to Rome as expeditiously as he pretended to be come from thence.

The saint, mounted upon the devil, arrived at Rome on Good-Friday, about nine in the morning, just as the pope was going up to the altar to celebrate mass, and consecrate the chrism. Antidius, having uttered a short prayer, demanded earnestly to speak with the pope, to whom he said he had something of the greatest consequence to communicate. The pope retired with him into a private place, where the saint related what he had seen, shewed the pope the slipper which he had rescued

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out of the claws of the devil, and exhorted him to repent of his crime. The pope heard him with respect, and desired the saint to officiate in his room at the solemn office of the day. Antidius, at his request, put on the pontifical robe, celebrated mass, and performed the other functions, which the pope, from a spirit of penitence, thought proper to abstain from himself. After service was over, he gave the pope absolution, and received it in turn from his holiness; and then mounting his devil again, whom he had left tied at the church-door, he returned to Befançon as expeditiously as he got to Rome, and brought with him the chrism, and consecrated oil, for the use of the clergy of his diocese.

There is a story much like this, told of St. Maximus of Turin, who rebuked pope Leo the first for a fault which he had committed, in giving his hand to a woman to kiss. The pope, says the story, was so ashamed of his weakness, that he cut off his hand; but the blessed virgin restored it to him again by a signal miracle^a.

There is a thing still more extraordinary related of a canon of a certain cathedral in Normandy, who being pitched upon by his brethren to go to Rome, and execute a commission in the name of the body, delayed his departure till after morning-service on Christmas-day, and then made himself be carried by a devil, who had long been his familiar. By this means he got to Rome the same day, executed his commission, and brought back with him the original charter, by which the canons were obliged to send yearly, on a fixed day, one of their body to Rome, to do homage in person.

I am sensible that all these relations will be treated as mere fables; and I have no inclination or interest to support their truth. I only observe that father

^a Eolland. x. April. & 25 Juin. p. 41.

Chifflet, in his history of Besançon, looks upon the story of St. Antidius to be so well supported, and by such authentic monuments, that he thinks a fair historian cannot omit relating it, or a man of sense reject it as spurious. *De historiâ S. Antidii, Romam, vectore demone, profecti, adeò multa sunt certaque monumenta, ut eam ut spuriam rejicere, vel reticere ut indecoram, nec historici esse putem, nec æqui rerum æstimatoris. Ejus certè veritatem astruunt primùm libri vetustissimi & constans majorum traditio, deinde antiquissimæ imagines piæ fidei in ecclesiis S. Rufi, S. Pauli, S. Petri, Sæ. Magdalene, &c. nec non & breviaria vetera.*

The Bollandists declare themselves of a different opinion; and I readily subscribe to their judgment. As for the story of pope Leo the first, as above related, they have entirely suppressed it as fabulous: and yet the circumstances of St. Maximus's reminding him of his fault, of St. Leo's cutting off his hand, and of its being miraculously restored by the blessed virgin, however incredible they may seem, were recorded in some ancient paintings, which pope Clement the eighth, by the advice of several learned and prudent persons, thought proper to efface.

The story of the canon's being carried by a devil, from Normandy to Rome, in seven or eight hours, seems absolutely fabulous and incredible. Nevertheless, I am assured that there are proofs of it now to be seen in the archives of that cathedral, and even in the inscription upon the canon's tomb. I am also informed, that the celebrated father Mabillon inspected the original papers; but, for my part, I will not venture to pronounce decisively in a matter, for which I have no evidence but uncertain hear-say. I only infer from hence, that the notion of men's being carried from place to place by the devil is founded upon ancient traditions;

ditions ; and that it is authoris'd, in some degree at least, as not impossible, by Habakkuk's being carried by an angel from Jewry to Babylon ; by Elijah's being caught up into the air ; and by our Saviour's being set on a pinnacle of the temple, and then upon an exceeding high mountain, by the devil. To these may be added, the story of Simon Magus's being carried up into the air by the devil ; the frequent instances of saints of both sexes who have been carried into the air by angels ; and even the case of the blessed virgin, who is generally believed by the faithful, to have been carried into heaven by celestial spirits.

LV.

Of enchanted serpents.

THERE is no period in all antiquity, in which we do not find something about the effects of magical charms upon serpents. Even the Scripture itself alludes to it^a, where the *deaf adder* is said to *refuse to hear the voice of the charmer, charm be never so wisely*. Lucian, in his laughing way, tells a storyⁱ of a magician of Babylon, who collected all the serpents of the country into one place, and there burned them alive. There happened to be one old serpent which did not obey the summons with the rest ; but the magician dispatched a young one to fetch him ; and he shared the common fate.

LVI.

Surprising effects of magick.

TORQUEMADA has delivered a most remarkable fact, taken from the *Malleus Ma-*

^a Psalm lviii. 4, 5.

ⁱ Lucian in Philopseud. p. 831.

lesicarum,

leſtarum, or *Hammer for Witches*, concerning a woman, who being accused of magick, was apprehended by the inquisition. At her trial, the judges gave her a promise of pardon, if she would engage to renounce her diabolical practices, and give them ocular demonstration of the power of her art. Upon this she stepped aside among some trees, where she dug a little hole in the earth with her hands, and urined therein. After she had stirred the earth and the urine together with her finger, muttered certain words, and made some odd jestures, there issued from the hole a thick smoke, which, rising into the air, formed a black cloud, attended with dreadful thunder and lightning.

The witch then desired the inquisitors to name any place that they chose, for the clouds to discharge its contents, which was a great quantity of hail and stones. Having pointed out a place to her where it could do no mischief, the cloud was carried thither by an impetuous wind, and immediately burst, and discharged the stones and hail with great violence.

Lucian[†] relates a thing, which is, if possible, still more extraordinary. A magician of Egypt was possessed of a strange secret, by which he could make himself be waited on by the iron bolts or bars of any house where he happened to be upon the road. His way was to wrap them up in the skirt of his garment, and to repeat certain words, when immediately the bolt assumed the form of a man, attended him with great assiduity, brought him whatever he called for, and got ready his dinner. When the magician had no farther occasion for a servant, he pronounced some other words, and the iron returned to its former shape.

These stories of Lucian, I look upon as mere waggeries, related in order to ridicule the vulgar

[†] Lucian in *Philopseud.* p. 842.

stories of magick, in which he had no greater faith, than in the pagan system of theology, which, he laughs at in every one of his dialogues.

In Lapland, it is said, there are schools where magick is publickly taught, and that parents send their children to learn the art; which, in a country that swarms with wizards, is absolutely necessary for common safety. It is a frequent thing among these people, for a familiar devil to be left as an inheritance by a father to his children, in order to protect them from the tutelar devil of some other family, who bears them a grudge. They make great use of a drum, in most of their magical operations. For instance, when they have a mind to find out any thing that passes in a foreign country, one of them is employed to beat the drum, having first laid up, on a part of it where the sun is painted, a number of tin rings, tied together with a chain of the same metal. By way of drumstick, he makes use of a forked bone, and continues beating till the rings are put in motion, singing all the while a song which the Laplanders call *Joukc*; in which he is accompanied by all the people present, who take care to mention at every turn the name of the place from which they want intelligence^m.

When the Laplander has beat the drum for some time, he puts it upon his head, in a particular manner, and instantly falls to the ground motionless, and without any appearance of life. The whole company about him continues singing till he comes to himself: and if they stop, he dies immediately. The case is the same, if any one endeavours to wake him, by touching him with their hand or foot.

^m See Scheffer's *Laponia*, printed at Francfort, in the year 1673; particularly chap.

xi. entituled, *De sacris magicis, & magia Laponum*, p. 119, & seq.

They

They even take care to drive away the flies, and other animals, that they may not come near him.

When he comes to himself, he gives them the intelligence they want; but it sometimes happens that he continues in a trance for 24 hours, sometimes more, and sometimes less, according to the distance of the place where he is sent. And to leave no suspicion of the truth of his relation, he always brings back with him any proof that they require, of his having been there; as a knife, a ring, a shoe, or something else of that sort.

It is worth while to observe the difference between these Lapland wizards, and the witch lately mentioned, whose foot was burned without her feeling it. The same is observable also in the story told by St. Austin of the priest Prætextatus, who felt nothing that was done to him during his trance.

The Laplanders are likewise said to make use of this same drum, in order to find out the cause of a disorder, or to deprive an enemy of his health or life. There is also among them a sort of conjurers, who keep their magical flies or devils in a leathern bag, from whence they let them loose to destroy their enemies, hurt cattle, or raise storms. There are others who wreak their vengeance by throwing a dart into the air, which infallibly destroys every thing it meets with: and others make use of a little ball, called a *Tyre*, about the size of a middling nut, and very light, with which they put their enemies to death; but if by the way it unfortunately lights on any other person, or animal, it infallibly destroys them.

LVII.

Objections against apparitions.

IT is observed, that in all countries superstition keeps pace with ignorance; and that the power of the devil is always greatest, where people are most immersed in vice and error. Accordingly Ludovicus Vives^a reports, that in those parts of the world which have been lately discovered, nothing is more common than for spirits to appear at noon-day, as well in towns as in country-villages; and impose some command or other upon the persons they meet, and even sometimes to beat them.

Olaus Magnus^o, archbishop of Upsal, who has writ upon the antiquities of the northern nations, observes, that in Sweden, Norway, Finland, and Lapland, there are frequently seen spectres, who do many extraordinary feats; and that they frequently wait upon people in the capacity of servants, and drive their horses and other cattle to pasture.

Even to this present time, the Laplanders, both such as are converted to Christianity, and such as continue in idolatry, have a strong belief in apparitions of departed souls, and offer them a sort of sacrifice. I am willing to allow, that the prejudices of education contribute much more to this opinion, than reason and experience. For among the Tartars, where barbarism and ignorance prevail as much as in any part of the world, there is no such thing talked of as spirits. The case is the same with the Turks, though they admit the apparitions of angels to the patriarchs recorded in

^a Lud. Vives, l. i. de Verit. Fidei, p. 340.

^o Olaus Mag. l. vi.

the Old Testament; and that of the archangel Gabriel to Mahomet himself.

The people of Abyssinia, who are extremely rude and ignorant, have no faith in wizards, magicians, or enchantments; and they maintain that those who attribute so much power to the devil, fall into the error of the Manichæans, who admitted two independent principals; the one the author of good, the other of evil.

This opinion of the Abyssinians is not peculiar to them. Beker^p, in his *Enchanted World*, openly laughs at all apparitions of good and evil angels, ridicules all the common opinions about magick; and asserts, that it is contrary to Scripture and the principles of the Christian religion, to give any credit to them. But he carries the matter too far, and is very deficient when he comes to prove his assertions.

LVIII.

That the devil transforms himself into an angel of light, and endeavours to weaken and destroy the belief of apparitions.

THE prince of darkness is indisputably fond of assuming the form of an angel of light, of counterfeiting the works, and defeating the purposes of God. He well knows what advantages are derived to religion, from a belief that spirits return from the grave; since it certainly proves the truth of some of the fundamental articles of faith, namely, the existence of another world, the immortality of the soul, the misery of the wicked, and the happiness of the just, in a future state; the usefulness of prayers for the dead, and the communion which subsists between the church-militant and the church-

^p Beker, *Monde enchanté*, Preface & l. i. c. 18.

triumphant. He therefore employs every art to weaken the credit, and impair the certainty of these great truths : and one of his methods is, to impose upon the world his own delusions instead of real apparitions ; and to encourage men to persevere in sin, by making notorious villains appear and desire prayers ; than which nothing can be a stronger motive to impenitence, as it creates a belief that others, who are guilty of the same crimes, may likewise obtain pardon after death ; whereas nothing can procure that mercy, but repentance and a change of life.

Thus, for instance, the devil instigated the magicians of Egypt to imitate the real miracles of Moses *with their incantments*^r ; and in our Saviour's time, the children of the Jews *cast out devils*^t ; and he himself tells us, that at the day of judgment, *many will say unto him, Lord, Lord, have we not prophesied in thy name ? and in thy name have cast out devils ? and in thy name done many wonderful works ?* and that he *will profess unto them, I never knew you*^t. In the days of the apostles, there appeared Simon Magus, and Apollonius Tyanæus, who, by their forceries, imposed upon the simple, and perverted them from the faith of Christ. In short, the devil in every age has had his agents and ministers, who have been industrious in propagating error, and counterfeiting the actions of the saints : and we know that in the last days *there shall arise false Christs, and false prophets, and shall shew great signs and wonders, insomuch that (if it were possible) they shall deceive the very elect*.

^r Exod. vii. viii ix.

^t Matth. vii. 22.

^t Matth. xii. 27.

LIX.

Difficulties attending apparitions.

IT is the constant and invariable conduct of divine providence to suffer the clearest truths of religion to be attended with some obscurity; the most indisputable facts to meet with some opposers; and the best supported miracles to furnish some circumstances for the cavils of unbelievers. Indeed there is no article of religion but has its bright and its dark side; and God has thought proper to permit it, in order to try the faith of the righteous, and that infidels may perish in their errors; *that seeing they may not see, and hearing they may not understand*^v. The adorable mysteries of the Christian faith are to the latter a *stumbling-block* and *foolishness*; but to the former, *the power of God, and the wisdom of God*^w.

We cannot therefore be surprised at finding this subject involved in doubt and contradiction, nor at meeting with some circumstances which can be attributed only to the almighty power of God, and others which bear the visible marks of fraud and illusion, and can be supposed to proceed from the devil only. It is of great consequence to religion to separate them carefully from one another, that weak minds may not be misled by their own prejudices, or the dexterity of wicked men, in weakening the credit of unquestionable truths, and attributing to the power of the devil the undoubted works of God.

It has always been a doctrine of the Sorbonne, a school which may justly be stiled the first in the Christian world for theological learning, that de-

^v Luke viii. 10.^w 1 Cor. i. 23.

parted souls do sometimes return into this world, either by the power, or command, or permission of God. This is the purport of the decision in the year 1518; and still more expressly on the 23d of January 1724. *Nos respondemus vestrae piæ petitioni, animas defunctorum divinitus, seu divinâ virtute, ordinatione, & permissione interdum ad vivos redire exploratum esse.* It has also been decided by several eminent lawyers, and courts of justice, that a lease is made void by the apparition of a ghost: and we shall presently see a variety of instances of houses being forsaken, on account of their being haunted by spectres.

LX.

Effects of strong impressions upon the imagination.

IT must be owned, that an imagination strongly possessed with prejudices, or a weak, credulous, and fearful mind, is capable of forming many a chimerical notion, and making persons imagine that they see and hear what has in reality no existence. It is not uncommon to meet with people who fancy themselves present at theatrical representations, when in fact there is no such thing. This was the case of the whimsical citizen of Abydos, mentioned by Aristotle², who diverted himself, when alone, with clapping and beating his hands, as if he had been entertained in the most agreeable manner at the amphitheatre; and of the Argian, mentioned by Horace³, who complained that his friends had deprived him of the greatest pleasure of his life, in curing him of a disorder, by which he fancied himself to be seeing the finest plays, when in reality he was quite alone. Athe-

² Aristot. de Mirabil.³ Hor. Epist. lib. ii.

næus also tells a story ^z of a man, named Thrasylas, who fancied every ship that came into the harbour of Piræus at Athens, to be his own, and was very angry at being cured of this agreeable madness.

LXI.

Transformations of men into beasts.

WE are told in Scripture that Nebuchadnezzar ^a, king of Babylon, imagined himself to be changed into an ox: and there have been persons in our time, who having taken it into their heads that they were damned, have starved themselves to death. Others have fancied themselves to be earthen pots, and have carefully avoided coming near any one, for fear of being broke. And it is common enough to meet with people who imagine themselves to be kings, cardinals, or noblemen, and divert themselves highly with these agreeable fancies. I am not speaking of the dreams of sick persons, or the whims which they are possessed with in a fever, but of reveries of another sort; which have been known to go so far, that people have fancied themselves to be actually dead, and have acted and spoke conformably to this prejudice, and even disposed of all their substance.

In the disorder called the *lycanthropy*, the patients imagine themselves to be changed into wolves, bark like them, and get out of the way of men. There is no one but has heard the story of Ajax's growing mad at Ulysses's gaining the prize in their contest for the arms of Achilles ^b, attacking a flock of sheep instead of the Grecian princes, and seizing

^z Athen. Dipnosoph.

Hor. Satyr. lib. ii. Juvenal.

^a Daniel iv.

Sat. xiv.

^b Quint. Smyrn. lib. v.

two of the largest, which having loaded with reproaches, he scourged, and at last hanged, mistaking them for Agamemnon and Ulysses; but when the fit was over, and he found his error, he slew himself for shame and despair.

Virgil, in his eighth eclogue^e, mentions certain herbs which had the power of changing men into wolves.

*Has herbas, atque hæc Ponto mibi lecta venena,
Ipse dedit Mæris; nascuntur plurima Ponto.
His ego sæpe lupum fieri, & se condere Sylvis
Vidi, &c.*

The story which^d Homer tells of Ulysses's companions being turned into swine, by drinking out of Circe's cup, is too well known to be insisted on. Herodotus^e also mentions these transformations of men into wolves; and Apuleius's *golden ass* is nothing but a satire upon the credulity of the vulgar, for believing these accounts of metamorphoses wrought by magick.

But these authorities are too trifling to be much depended on. St. Austin is of another order; and he assures^f us, that there were women in Italy who could change men into horses, by giving them to drink of a certain potion; and that after having made use of them to carry their burdens, they restored them to their original form: and he instances in the father of a certain priest, named Præstantius, who was changed into a mule, by some of these dealers in magick, and carried their baggage for a considerable time. It does not appear however that these transformations were real, but that the persons were strongly possessed with a notion of their being changed into horses, asses, or mules; and acted accordingly.

^e Virgil. Eclog. 8.

^d Hom. Odyss. lib. x.

^e Herodot. lib. iv.

^f Augustin. de Civitat. Dei, lib. xviii. c. 18.

Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, afterwards pope Pius the second, has recorded, in his history of Bohemia, a story of a woman, who foretold to one of Wratislaus's soldiers, that that prince's army should be cut in pieces by the duke of Bohemia; and that the soldier had no way to escape being killed himself, but by killing whoever he should first meet, cutting off the person's ears, and putting them in his pocket. Having done this, he was, with the same sword, to make the figure of a cross between his horse's legs, to mount immediately, and get off. The soldier did every thing as he was commanded. Wratislaus's army was routed, and the general killed: the soldier escaped; but when he came home, he found that he had murdered and cut off the ears of his own wife.

Now this woman must needs have been strangely disguised and altered, since her husband did not know her; nor did she discover herself to him, in such a dangerous situation, when her life was at stake. It is natural therefore to suppose that both the women were witches, as well she that was murdered, as she that made the prediction. Upon the whole, the affair was attended with three dreadful circumstances. The first witch is the author of a murder; the man murders his own wife; and the wife dies in a state of damnation, having disguised her person by witchcraft, so as not to be known.

In the life of St. Macarius, of Egypt, we are told that there was brought to him one day a woman, changed into a mare, by the cursed art of some magician; and her husband, and all that saw her, believed the transformation to be real. She had now continued three days and three nights, without taking any nourishment that was proper either for her former or her present condition. Having been shewn to all the priests in the neighbourhood, who found the case to be beyond their reach, she was at last brought to the cell of St. Macarius, who had already had a

revelation of her coming. His disciples would fain have sent her back, supposing her to be a common mare : but at last, having informed the saint of his new visitant, " One would think, says he, that you " too are turned beasts, you are so easily imposed " upon. The woman has undergone no change ; " it is your eyes that are bewitched." And having sprinkled the woman's head with holy-water, she immediately appeared in her old form to all the spectators. He then ordered her something to eat, and dismissed her safe and sound, with this advice, " Take care for the future to keep your church " better ; for this misfortune came upon you, for " having been absent five weeks from the sacra- " ment &c."

LXII.

Miraculous cures of persons bewitched.

THERE are few cases of this sort, in which holy-water may not be depended on as an infallible remedy. For another proof of its virtue, take the story of St. Hilarion's curing a girl, whom a wizard had bewitched with an outrageous passion for a young man : a case recorded by the grave and venerable St. Jerom. No sooner had Hilarion begun to apply his remedy, than the devil, which possessed her, cried out, " Thou givest me the most exquisite pain, but it is not in my power to come out, till he that sent me here releases me ; for I am chained down by a plate of brass, which lies under the threshold, inscribed with magical figures, and tied with a flaxen string. In truth, answered Hilarion, thou art a devil of most extraordinary prowess, to suffer thyself to be hampered with a bit of brass and a string : and continuing to ply him with holy-

* Palladii Helenopolit. Epist. Vit. sancti Macarii apud Rosweid. p. 720.

water, he drove him out by main violence, and cured the girl, without suffering the things under the threshold to be stirred.

St. Jerom, in the same work ^b, relates another remarkable fact of one Italicus, a Christian citizen of Gaza, who kept horses to run at the publick sports in the circus. This man had an antagonist, who was a heathen, and possessed of some magical secret, by which he could retard Italicus's horses, and make his own run with extraordinary speed. Italicus having bore it a great while, at last came to St. Hilarion, and told him the whole affair. Would it not be better for you, says the saint, smiling, to sell your horses, and give your money to the poor, than to be engaged in such an employment? That, answered the man, is not in my power. It is a publick employment, which is forced upon me; and as I am a Christian, I must not have recourse to witchcraft, and foil my antagonist at his own weapons.

His petition being backed by some of the brethren who were present, St. Hilarion was prevailed upon to conjure in an honest way; and giving Italicus the earthen vessel out of which he usually drank, filled it with water, and bade him sprinkle his horses with it. Italicus, to make sure work, rather exceeded his commission, and sprinkled not only his horses, but his very stable, and the chariot that was to run. Next day his antagonist was beat so shamefully, that the whole theatre cried out, Marnas is distanced; the Christian has it. And the change was thought so extraordinary, that many citizens of Gaza were converted upon the strength of it.

^b St. Hieronym. in Vit. Hilarion. p. 79.

LXIII.

Illusions of the senses.

THERE is scarce any thing more common, than instances of deceptions of the eyes and other senses. Philosophers, by means of prismatic glasses, magical lanthorns, and other secrets in opticks, can shew a variety of things, which ignorant people are apt to take for mere juggles. In the case of weak eyes, people see not at all the objects which are visible to others, or see them in a different manner: a man that is drunk, sees things double; and, in the dark, we are very apt to mistake every stump of a tree for a spectre. Even common jugglers can perform a variety of tricks, which seem to be beyond the power of nature: such as eating swords, spitting up coals and flints, drinking wine, and throwing it up again through their forehead; cutting off heads, and putting them on again; making a pullet draw a large beam; swallowing fire, and vomiting it up again; spitting up lumps of nails; mangling arms and legs; putting the point of a naked sword against a person's belly, and making it bend to the hilt, instead of entering the flesh; running a man through the body, without his feeling any harm; shewing children without heads, and heads without children. These, and a number of other tricks, seem at first absolutely miraculous, but when we know how they are done, they are only laughed at.

LXIV.

*Story of Desbordes, valet de chambre to Charles IV,
duke of Lorrain.*

IN the year 1628, an accusation was laid against Desbordes, valet de chambre to Charles IV, duke of Lorrain, for having occasioned the death of the princess Christina, widow of Francis, the late duke, and mother to Charles IV, and for being the author of several diseases, which the physicians attributed to witchcraft. The duke himself had conceived strong suspicions of his servant, from a feat which he had seen him perform, as they were one day a hunting. Desbordes, it seems, had entertained the duke and his attendants with a magnificent feast, with no other preparation than opening a little box, with three tire of drawers; and to compleat the miracle, had commanded three malefactors, which had been executed, and hung in chains, to come down and wait upon the duke, and then return to their gibbets. It was said also, that, upon another occasion, he had commanded the figures in a piece of tapestry to come out of the hangings into the middle of the room.

The duke, though far from being credulous, yet gave orders for Desbordes's trial; and the issue was, that he was found guilty of witchcraft and magick. He afterwards confessed several facts, was condemned to be burnt to death, and the sentence was executed.

After the execution, the duke's party were for questioning the validity of the duchess's baptism, who had been christened by the chantor of St. George's church in Nancy, an intimate friend of Desbordes's, and who had been convicted of several

ral

ral crimes (though not of witchcraft) which brought him to the same end. From the invalidity of the duchess's baptism, they wanted to infer the invalidity of her marriage, which was then the duke's grand point, and possibly might be of no small weight in determining the fate of these unhappy men.

It is recorded by father Delrio, a jesuit^a, that the wizard Trois-Echelles, gave a remarkable specimen of this art, in the presence of Charles IX, by unfastening the links in the collars of several knights of the king's order, who were at a considerable distance from him; and that having brought them into his hand, he restored them to their places, without hurting the collars.

Of all juggles, none are so common as tricks upon cards; and yet these appear to be downright enchantment, till the secret is known. It is not long since there was shewn in this country a horse, which seemed to be endowed with reason, and to understand his keeper's language. But the whole secret consisted in the horse's being taught to observe the motions of his master, and in consequence thereof to do certain things, which he had been trained up to, but would never have hit upon himself. In like manner, there are instances of dogs that have done surprising feats, and such as could scarce have been expected from the most intelligent and faithful servant.

^a Delrio, Disquis. Magic. l. i. c. 4.

LXV.

Apparitions considered, and proved to be generally illusions.

WHOEVER will enter into a minute examination of the apparitions of spirits, devils, and goblins, will find most of the stories to be nothing but gross impositions. It frequently turns out to be a thievish or dissolute servant, who conceals his thefts and debaucheries, by counterfeiting a ghost. Sometimes it proves to be a company of coiners, who have got possession of the vaults of an old mansion, and frighten away every one from it, by appearing in the night, dragging about chains, and, upon occasion, vanishing through a trap-door into their subterraneous retreats. Such a thing as this happened to the *marechal Du Bourg*, and we read of its having frequently happened to others. At other times it is discovered to be nothing but a contrivance of young people to carry on, by this means, an amorous intrigue with greater secrecy.

At the castle of *Arvilliers* ^b in *Picardy*, there were constantly seen, at certain seasons of the year, particularly about *All-saints day*, a frightful quantity of flames and smoke, accompanied with dreadful cries and shrieks. The farmer of the estate seemed not to be much concerned at it, and it was because he was the author of it himself; but in the village nothing was talked of but apparitions and spectres, and a variety of stories were told, according to the different fancies of the relaters. The gentleman who owned the castle, having a strong suspicion of some roguery at the bottom, desired

^b *Causes Celebres*, t. xi. p. 374.

two of his friends to accompany him, and came there about the usual time of the noises being heard, with a resolution of pursuing the spectre, and seeing whether he was pistol proof. A few days after their arrival, there was heard a hideous noise over the room where the gentleman lay; and his two friends immediately went up, each having a pistol in one hand, and a candle in the other. At first they saw only a thick smoke, and now and then a flash of fire; but there soon appeared a sort of harlequin, dressed in black, with horns, and a long tail, which begun to gambol and frisk about before them.

Upon this, one of them fired his pistol, but the spectre, instead of falling, advanced nearer, and continued his gambols. The gentleman then endeavoured to seize him, but he escaped by a little stair-case. The gentleman followed, without losing sight of him, and after several doubles, the spectre got into a granary, and vanished through a wall, where the gentleman thought himself sure of catching him. A light being brought, it was found out, that in the place where the spectre disappeared, there was a trap-door, fastened with a bolt on the other side. This being forced open, they found the spirit, who confessed all his tricks, and that he had made himself pistol proof, by means of a thick buff-skin, which he wore round his body.

The cardinal de Retz, in his Memoirs, gives an agreeable description of himself and his company's being frightened at meeting a number of black Austin friars, who had been to bathe themselves by night in the river^c.

In a dissertation lately writ by a physician upon the subject of spirits, there is a story of a maid-

^c Memoires du Cardinal de Retz, l. i. p. 43, 44.

servant, at a house in St. Victor's street, who going into the cellar, returned in the greatest fright, asserting that there was a spirit sitting between two hog'sheads. The same was confirmed by others of the family, who went down afterwards: and at last it proved to be a dead body, which had fallen out of a cart that came from the Hotel-Dieu, as it passed over the air-hole of the cellar.

It often happens, that a whole family is frightened at the noise of a cat, a dog, a monkey, or an owl. And stories of apparitions are frequently raised by the waggery of unlucky boys, dressing themselves up like spirits, hiding themselves in church-yards, and strolling, at late hours, in the night.

There are instances also of such reports being owing to more innocent causes, such as people's going to pray by night in a church-yard, at a church-door, or over a grave. And many a goblin has been raised out of a person's being hid under a bed, and pulling off the clothes, or drawing the curtains in the night.

To this account of the various sources of apparitions, may be added such artifices as the priests of Bel^a employed to make the people believe that their god eat and drank; and those of the priests of Anubis at Rome^{*}, one of which debauched Paulina, in the reign of Tiberius. The catalogue will be much augmented by the stratagems, recorded in history, of generals, who have pretended to have visions and revelations, in order to encourage their troops. Of this sort too is Numa's receiving his laws from the nymph Egeria, and many fictions of other legislators, contrived with the same view.

^a Bel and the Dragon.

^{*} Joseph. Antiq. l. xviii. c. 4.

LXVI.

Surprising effects of chemistry.

THE chemists pretend to shew by experiments, that a *palingenesis*, or resurrection of animals, insects, or plants, is far from being impossible, or contrary to nature. But, say they, the ashes of a plant in a vial, and upon the application of a gentle heat, they will rise in a sort of vapour, and assume, as nearly as possible, the form which was originally given them by the author of nature. It is even asserted by father Schot, a jesuit, that he has frequently seen a rose-tree rise out of its ashes, by the help of a small degree of heat, as often as any one chose to renew the experiment.

There has also been discovered a mineral water, which restores a dead plant, provided it has not lost its root, to the same state of verdure and strength, as when it was thriving in the ground; and, if Digby may be credited, he himself has raised out of the pulverised bodies of animals, representations of other animals of the same species.

Duchêne, a famous chemist, has recorded a story of a physician at Cracow, who kept in vials the ashes of almost all sorts of plants, and could gratify the curiosity of his visitants, by exhibiting the representation of any flower that they desired. For instance, he could form a rose, by placing the vial, which contained the ashes of a rose-tree, over a lighted candle: and as soon as it felt the heat, the ashes began to move, and rise in the form of a small vapour, which by degrees represented a rose, as fair and fresh, as if it had been just gathered from the tree.

† Vallemont, *Curiosités de la Nature*.

Gaffarel* assures us, that M. de Claves, a famous chemist, was possessed of this art, and has shewn hundreds of plants raised out of their own ashes. David Vanderbêche goes still farther, and pretends that the blood of animals, as well as their seed, contains the principles of their species; and he relates an experiment made by Borelli, which proves that human blood, while it continues warm, is full of acid and volatile salts, which being put in agitation by the warmth of the earth, in burying-places and fields of battle, will exhibit the form of the persons interred; and that these forms might be seen by day, as well as night, were it not for the light of the sun, which even hinders us from seeing the stars. He adds, that by means of this art, which he styles a natural and innocent species of necromancy, it would be easy to raise up the form of any of the heroes of antiquity, provided we were possessed of their ashes.

This is the substance of the most plausible objections that are made against the reality of apparitions: and from hence it is concluded, that they are either exhalations, produced by the heat of the earth, impregnated with the blood and volatile salts of dead bodies, especially such as have died a violent death, or illusions of a disturbed imagination and prejudiced mind, or tricks contrived by unlucky wags to divert themselves, by terrifying others; or, lastly, bugbears raised by the fancy out of the common motions of a man, a cat, a dog, or an owl. It must indeed be owned, that upon a close examination of the supposed instances of apparitions, they generally turn out to be nothing real, or, at least, nothing extraordinary. But to conclude from hence, that they are all

* Gaffarel, *Curiosités inouïes*.

Journaux des Sçavans, t. vi. p. 452, & t. xcv. December, 1731.

equally chimerical, is certainly carrying matters too far.

LXVII.

Whether the devil was the author of the heathen oracles?

WITH regard to the heathen oracles, I declare myself perfectly indifferent as to any opinions that may be entertained about them. I even own, without any hesitation, that there was a great deal of fraud and deceit carried on by the priests and priestesses, who had the direction of them. But, surely, it does not follow from hence, that the devil never interposed in the business. It cannot be denied, that the oracles fell gradually into contempt after the establishment of Christianity, and at last were totally silenced; and that the priests, who pretended to foretel future events, have been frequently forced to confess, that they were put to silence by the Christians. It must be owned too, that the Christians^h have publicly defied the dealers in divination and prophesying, to dare to speak in their presenceⁱ.

In the law of Moses^k, there are frequent prohibitions of having recourse to wizards, or those that have familiar spirits; such as the woman whom Saul consulted^l. In all the passages where they are mentioned, the Hebrew word is *Ob*, which the Greek interpreters render by the word *Engastrymuthos*, which signifies a species of wizards, that gave their answers from the bottom of their bellies. They are mentioned again in the second

^h Sozomen, Histor. l. v.

c. 19.

ⁱ Tertull. Apolog. Art. xxii, xxiii.

^k Levit. xix. 31. xx. 6. 27.

Deuteron. xviii. 11.

^l 1 Sam. xxviii. 3, 7, 8, 9.

book of Kings ^m, and in Isaiah ⁿ. In the Acts of the Apostles ^o we read of St. Paul's silencing a *damsel, possessed with a spirit of divination, which brought to her masters much gain by sooth-saying*. And, to mention no more, we are assured, that the devil, who presided over the oracle of Daphne near Antioch, complained, that he was hindered from giving his answers as usual, by the body of the martyr St. Babylas.

It was an article of belief common both to the vulgar and the ^p learned in Greece and Italy, that oracles were dictated by Apollo, or some of the other gods, or by deified heroes, who were all consulted in different places. Now these gods were, in fact, nothing but devils, or, at least, damned and reprobate souls. Even Porphyry, the most inveterate enemy of the Christian name, makes no scruple to own, that the oracles were dictated by lying spirits, and that dæmons are the authors of all enchantments, philtres, and witchcraft; that they do nothing but impose spectres and illusions upon us, instead of realities; that they have the ambition to aim at divine honours; that their bodies, which are of an aerial and spiritual nature, are nourished by unctuous smoke, and the blood and fat of animals; and that their peculiar province is to dictate lying, equivocal, and deceitful oracles. At the head of them he places *Hecate* and *Serapis*; and much in the same disrespectful and contemptuous manner, does Jamblichus speak upon this subject.

The primitive fathers, who lived near the age in which oracles were in vogue, and who were many of them converted from heathenism to the Chri-

^m 2 Kings xxi. 6. xxiii. 24.

ⁿ Isaiah viii. 19. xix. 3.

^o Acts xvi. 16.

^p Euseb. de Præpar. Evang.

l. iv. y. vi. Fontenelle, Hist. des Oracles, p. 27. c. iii.

stian faith, and were consequently better acquainted with the oracles than we are, (who must take our accounts of them from the ancient writers) speak of them as being originally invented, and all along directed and supported by dæmons. To these charges, the heathens were utterly at a loss what to answer, and we have just seen, that Porphyry and Jamblichus give the same representation of them with Christian writers.

LXVIII.

Instances of discoveries really made by oracles.

TO whatever lengths the juggles of the heathen priests in the management of their oracles may be represented to proceed, I shall by no means undertake their defence, but profess to entertain as bad an opinion of them, as most of their own philosophers. It is sufficient for my purpose to shew, that the devil did sometimes interfere; and indeed there are so many facts upon record, which seem to exceed the ordinary powers of men, that they can be attributed only to the operation of dæmons.

Plutarch^a relates, that a governor of Cilicia, having sent to Mallos, a city of that province, to consult the oracle of Mopsus, the person that carried the note, in which the governor's question was written, fell asleep in the temple, and dreamed that he saw a man of uncommon beauty, who pronounced to him the single word, *black*. This answer, which he could not guess the drift of, he carried back to the governor; and the success of the embassy was much laughed at by all who heard it, till the governor, opening the note, shewed them his question, which was this, *Shall I*

^a Plutarch. de Defunct. Oracul. p. 434.

sacrifice a white or a black ox? and convinced them, that the oracle had answered it, without opening the note.

There are recorded several other instances of answers given by oracles to sealed notes, without their being opened. But possibly, in all these cases, may have been practised the trick of Alexander of Abonotichos, a city of Paphlagonia in Asia Minor, who had contrived to persuade the inhabitants of that country, that he had at his devotion the god *Æsculapius*, who assumed the form of a large tame snake. The way of consulting this divinity, was to deposite in his temple a note, carefully sealed up, and the answer was always writ at the bottom of the question, without the note's being opened. The secret, it seems, consisted in dexterously taking off the seal with a hot needle, and replacing it with great care, having first writ the answer in that obscure and enigmatical stile, in which all oracles are very prudently delivered. At other times he made use of gum-mastick, which, when soft, easily took off the seal, and, when it grew hard, made a fresh impression. His price was about ten pence for each note, and he continued this trade as long as he lived, which was no small time; for he was killed by lightning at the age of seventy, about the end of the second century. His history, with a great particularity of circumstances, may be seen at large in Lucian's treatise, entitled *Pseudo-Mantis*, or the false prophet.

Macrobius^r attributes oracles to *dæmons* or gods, which with him are the same, for he derives the word *dæmones* from *δαιμονες*, a Greek word, which signifies *knowing*, because he supposes them to be acquainted with futurity. He relates also a thing

^r Macrobi. Saturn. l. i. c. 23.

which happened to Trajan, who, in order to try the divinity of the oracle at Heliopolis in Phœnicia, sent a billet carefully sealed up, as if it contained a question to the god, but without any thing writ within. The priests were astonished beyond measure, when the god ordered them to send back a blank note, sealed up with equal precaution. Upon the receipt of this billet, Trajan dispatched another, in which he consulted the god, Whether he should return to Rome from the expedition which he had then undertaken against the Parthians? The oracle, in answer, ordered some branches of a ^s knotty vine, which was consecrated to the use of the temple, to be sent him. The meaning of this answer was never discovered, till the bones of the emperor, who died in his return from this expedition, were brought to Rome; and then it was clear beyond a doubt, that the oracle meant to typify this event by the vine branches, which were found to have a great resemblance to bare human bones.

LXIX.

The dread which the devil has of the sign of the cross, and of the presence of Christians.

THEODORET, bishop of Cyrus ^t in Syria, a writer of great penetration and equal gravity, relates a story of Julian the Apostate, who having put himself under the tuition of a magician, was carried to an idol's temple, and conducted into the most secret part of it. Here the ma-

^s *Vitem centuriam*, that is, *nodosam*, because the centurions in the army made use of a rough knotty vine-twig,

to correct their soldiers.

^t Theodoret. *Histor.* 1, iii. c. 3.

gician began to invoke his dæmons, who soon appeared in their usual form; but Julian was terrified at the ceremony, and crossed himself over the forehead. The devils immediately vanished, and the magician reproached his disciple bitterly for his cowardice. Julian confessed his fear, and seemed astonished at the virtue of the cross; but the magician assured him, that the devils did not run away for fear, but because they were shocked at the impiety of the action. Julian was satisfied with this frivolous reason, and always retained a strong belief in the mysteries of magick, and a violent passion for prying into the secrets of futurity.

In the life of St. Gregory Thaumaturgus ^a we read, that as that saint was once upon the road to his episcopal city of Neocæsarea, being caught in a violent rain, and night coming on, he went with his attendants into an idol's temple, where there was an oracle in high reputation all over that country. In order to purify the place for his reception, he invoked the name of Jesus Christ, and made the sign of the cross several times, and then spent the night in singing hymns to God, according to his usual custom. In the morning, after he was gone, the heathen priest came to perform his usual functions; but the dæmons made their appearance, and told him plainly, that they must quit their habitation in the temple for ever, on account of the man that had lodged there that night. The priest did his utmost, by sacrifices and incense, to make them alter their resolution, but all to no purpose. He then followed Gregory in a violent rage, and threatened to have him severely punished by the magistrates. The saint heard him with great temper, and only said calmly, Know, that

^a Vit. Greg. Thaum. p. 980.

it is in my power, by the help of God, to drive devils out, and to make them return again, wherever I please. Order them then, says the priest, to return to their temple. Upon this the saint tore out a leaf from a book which he had in his hand, and writ these words; *Gregory to Satan; return.*

The priest having laid the billet upon the altar, performed his ceremonies, and finding that every thing was right as it used to be, followed Gregory a second time, and desired the saint to instruct him in the knowledge of this God, which had so absolute a command over all others. In compliance with his request, Gregory explained to him the whole Christian system, but the priest could not swallow the doctrine of the incarnation. To get over his scruples, the saint told him it was a truth, which could be proved by no human arguments, but by the miracles of the divine power. Well then, says the priest, give me this proof, by ordering that rock to change its situation, and go to such a place. The saint did as he was desired, and the rock instantly obeyed, as if it had been endued with life. The priest immediately yielded to this argument, took leave of his temple, followed the saint, and became his disciple.

The life of St. Gregory Thaumaturgus, from which I have taken this relation, was writ by St. Gregory of Nyssa, who lived very near the same time, and was fully instructed in all the particulars of his life.

LXX.

Whether there were any oracles among the ancient Jews?

I See no reason for supposing, that the Jews had among them any oracles, properly so called, and confined to particular places, like those of Dodona, Claros, and others, among the Greeks. Their common way was to consult a prophet or seer; and it seldom happened that God suffered the nation to be without one of these. In default of these, they had the *Urim* and *Thummim* of the high-priest^a, which was a sort of permanent oracle, designed to reveal the will of God, and to discover future and secret events. But it is plain, that the neighbouring nations, the Philistines, Egyptians, and Phœnicians, had their oracles, which the Jews had too often the folly and impiety to consult. There is particular^c mention made of Baal-zebub, called by our Saviour *the prince of the devils*^b, whom Ahaziah sent to consult in his sickness, and was severely reproved for it by the prophet Elijah. *Is it not because there is not a God in Israel, says the prophet, that ye send to enquire of Baal-zebub the god of Ekron?*

The Egyptians were in a particular manner addicted to divination. *They shall seek to the idols, says the prophet Isaiah^a, and the charmers, and to them that have familiar spirits, and to the wizards.* The prophet Hosea^b reproaches the Jews with *asking counsel at their stocks*, (that is, their idols)

^a Exod. xxviii. 30.

^a Isaiah xix. 3.

^c 2 Kings i. 2, & seq.

^b Hosea iv. 12:

^c Matth. xii. 24. Luke xi.

and expecting *their staff to declare unto them*; for *the spirit of whoredoms hath caused them to err*. By *the spirit of whoredoms* is probably meant the devil, or the unclean spirit, whom they consulted instead of the living God, and received from him ambiguous, equivocal, and fallacious answers. By reproaching them with expecting *their staff to declare unto them*, the prophet alludes to a species of divination, much in vogue among the heathens, and called by them *Rabdomanteia*, in which they made use of rods. This seems also to be the divination used by Nebuchadnezzar in Ezekiel^c, where he deliberates about invading the Israelites and Ammonites. *For the king of Babylon stood at the parting of the way, at the head of the two ways, to use divination: he made his arrows bright* (the Septuagint translation speaks not of arrows, but *ῥαβδοι*, rods) *he consulted with images, he looked into the liver*.

The *teraphim*, which were stole from Laban by his daughter Rachel^d, were, without doubt, superstitious and magical images, made use of to pry into futurity. Such too were the images (in the original *teraphim*) which Nebuchadnezzar is said to consult in Ezekiel. His other method of divination, namely by *arrows*, (as the word *bitzim* is rendered in the common translations) is of great antiquity, and practised by several nations, as the Slavi, Germans, and Persians.

Of the species of *teraphim* was also Micah's image^e, and that of Gideon^f, which *became a snare to all Israel*. That which made them in such request, was their oracular faculty: but the priests were generally their interpreters. Sometimes indeed an articular sound was heard to proceed from

^c Ezek. xxi. 21.

^d Gen. xxxi. 19.

^e Judges xvii. 5. xviii. 14.

^f 15.

^f Judges viii. 27.

the idol itself. But however the answer was conveyed, there was no question but the god himself was ultimately the author of it.

In the first book of Kings², a spirit, (probably the devil) offers to *be a lying spirit in the mouth of all Abab's prophets*. The true prophets themselves frequently complain of the false and groundless predictions of these counterfeit prophets³. Hosea forewarns the Jews¹, *that they shall abide many days without a king, and without a prince, and without a sacrifice, and without an image, and without an ephod, and without teraphim*, that is, without any publick exercise of religion, either true or false, without either true or false prophets to instruct them in the knowledge of future or secret events.

LXXI.

Whether ghosts ever appear with real material bodies?

I Am sensible that there is a variety of difficulties in which this subject of apparitions is involved; and that they are such, as not only affect the facts themselves, by calling in question their reality, and attributing them to prejudice and fancy, but such as arise from the various solutions that have been given of the phænomenon itself. For it is a question not easily decided, which of these opinions was most generally received amongst the ancients; Whether angels, devils, and departed souls, still retain a subtle, spiritual body, or form one, upon occasion, out of air, or vapours, or any other matter proper for the purpose of appearing to men: or, whether they only affect the senses and imagination of the persons to whom they ap-

² 1 Kings xxii. 22.

³ Isaiah, Jerem. Zachar.

¹ Hosea iii. 4.

pear, without condensing the air, or assuming any visible body; or lastly, whether they only modify the rays of light in such a manner, as to make the same impressions upon the senses, as would be excited by solid, living bodies.

LXXII.

Reflections upon the subject of apparitions.

FROM the several facts above related, I conclude, that, in some instances, good angels have appeared, and in others devils, and in others departed souls. Sometimes the apparitions have been goblins, who are supposed to be beings of a middle order, between good and evil angels; and at other times the real bodies of persons deceased, or devils that have assumed those bodies.

Equally various are the opinions that are entertained concerning these matters. There are some who swallow implicitly every tale that has an apparition in it. Be it angel, devil, ghost, vampire, in short, of whatever species, their faith extends indiscriminately to all.

There are others who reject every thing of this sort, as confidently as these last admit it; not because they have made deeper researches, or examined the subject more critically. But they know that many stories are current, some of which are evidently apocryphal, and others but weakly supported; and therefore they conclude, that there are none which rest upon better foundations.

Again, others absolutely deny the existence of angels, devils, and spirits, and believe that when the body goes, all goes with it. Such were the Epicureans among the Greeks, and the Sadducees among the Jews; and such are many libertines in this age, who lay claim to superior degrees of knowledge,

knowledge, and affect to be distinguished by the title of Freethinkers.

There is another order of men, who look upon every thing as involved in doubt and difficulty. Such are the scepticks of all ages, who are convinced by no proof, and can be brought to admit no conclusion.

Lastly, there are others, who profess a regard for the holy Scriptures; who can withhold their assent, when things are doubtful and uncertain; can listen to the reasons on both sides of a question, and are persuaded, whenever they meet with solid and convincing proofs. Moreover, they look upon the immortality of the soul, and the existence of angels and devils as incontestible truths.

It is chiefly for the sake of these last, that I have undertaken a discussion of this subject. I had likewise a view to my own information, and to engage those who are furnished with better talents for a final decision of the question, to communicate their discoveries to the publick. I look upon it as labour lost, to write with a view of convincing those who resolve to deny at all events, who have no reason for doubting, but because they are determined to do so, and are ambitious of raising themselves above the common level of mankind, by a silly affectation of the title of Freethinkers.

I readily declare, that I admit nothing as true, but what really is so; and own that there is an infinity of stories of apparitions received in the world, which are certainly false and imaginary. I myself have related several, to which I give but little credit. As for those that are stamped with the characters of truth and certainty, I entertain them with respect. As for the rest, I treat them with all the contempt which they deserve; but at the same time I am convinced, that many of these relations are true, and that they may, like other
historica

historical facts, be distinguished from such as are false, by trying them by the rules of sober criticism, by weighing the merit of authors, the possibility of facts, and the circumstances with which they are recorded.

LXXIII.

Principles to be laid down, in order to account for apparitions.

IN order to give a satisfactory solution of all the difficulties that occur in this subject of apparitions, I lay it down as absolutely necessary,

First, that we should have a perfect knowledge of the nature of spirits, souls, angels, and devils. We must know precisely, whether they are entirely disengaged from all matter, or have still some connection with an aerial, subtile, and invisible body, which continues under their command after death; or even with that gross body which they formerly animated, so as to communicate motion to it, as the soul does to the body in our present state; or whether the soul acts merely as an occasional cause, and by a bare volition, determines God to communicate motion to the machine, which it animates.

Secondly, Whether after death the soul retains this power only over its own proper body, or can extend it to others, such as the air, and other elements.

Thirdly, Whether angels and devils have this power over other sublunary bodies; so as, for instance, to condense or inflame the air, to form clouds, and raise tempests, to preserve or destroy fruits and corn, to kill animals, and produce epidemical disorders, to cause shipwrecks, or even to fascinate

fascinate the eyes, or delude the other senses of men.

Fourthly, Whether they act in this manner by their own inherent power, and exert it as often as they think proper, or must be authorised by an express order, or, at least, a permission from God.

Lastly, we must have an accurate knowledge of the power of those beings, which we suppose to be entirely spiritual, and how far the influence of angels, devils, and departed souls, extend in the case of those appearances, actions, motions, and discourses, which are vulgarly attributed to them.

For while we are ignorant of the precise limits of that power which God has bestowed upon departed souls, angels, and devils, we cannot, with the least degree of certainty, distinguish a miraculous from a natural event, nor point out the bounds to which the sphere of action of these beings extends, or within what restrictions it is confined.

If we suppose the devil to have a power of fascinating our eyes whenever he pleases, or of disposing the air in such a manner, as to make us imagine we see spectres, or of communicating motion to a dead body that is not entirely putrefied, or of disturbing mankind with disagreeable dreams, or frightful phantoms, we can no longer be surprized at several events, which now astonish us, or look upon certain apparitions and cures as miraculous, since they are only exertions of the natural powers of angels, devils, or human souls.

If we saw effects of this sort produced by mere human means, we might justly pronounce them to be miraculous, because they are beyond the natural and common powers of man. But if we knew the agent to have a commerce with some angel, or devil, by virtue of an explicit compact, the effect produced would still be beyond his natural power, but not beyond that of his assistant spirit ;

Spirit; and, in this case, the effect could not with propriety be stiled miraculous, since the being that caused it is supposed to be naturally endowed with powers adequate to its production.

The next question that occurs, is, Whether there be any thing miraculous in a man's having a commerce with an angel or devil, and obliging him by virtue of a compact, executed in due form, to produce certain effects, which shall have the appearance of being beyond the natural powers of man?

Before this question can be answered, it must be previously decided, whether there be any natural property or tendency in a human living soul, which makes it capable of contracting an alliance, or entering into a compact with an angel or devil, by virtue of which contract these beings shall be subjected to that human soul, and exert the powers of their nature, in obedience to its commands. For if, in this case, there be nothing contrary to the established order of nature, on the side of either of the contracting parties, there is evidently nothing miraculous in the whole transaction. Nor, again, is there any exertion of an extraordinary power on the part of God, since he only permits second causes to take their common course, at the same time he is the original author, and continues to be the perpetual superintendant of their operations in all cases, so as to have a power of confining, suspending, increasing, or extending their agency, according to his own good pleasure.

But as we know not, and as it seems even impossible that, by the mere light of nature, we ever should know, the nature and extent of the ordinary powers of angels, devils, and departed souls, it will be rash to pronounce decisively upon this subject, so as to form any conclusions from the facts, or to judge of effects by causes. For instance,

to conclude, that, because angels, devils, and ghosts, have sometimes appeared to men, therefore they have by *nature* a power of doing so, would be rash and dangerous. For it is possible that they may have happened by a particular command of God, and not in consequence of that general order of things which he has established as the ordinary rule to which his dispensations are conformed. In the first case, these apparitions are miraculous, as exceeding the natural power of the agents concerned in their production. In the second case, they are mere natural events, and have nothing extraordinary in them, but the permission granted by God to such ghosts, angels, or devils, to appear and produce such particular effects: a permission which must be supposed to be but seldom granted.

LXXIV.

Consequences to be drawn from these principles.

THESE principles being established, we may safely admit the following conclusions.

1. That angels and devils have frequently appeared, and departed souls have frequently come again; and that both the one and the other may do the same hereafter, as well as formerly.

2. That the manner of their coming and appearing again, is a thing which we know nothing of; undecided by God, and left as a matter of dispute and enquiry among men.

3. That it is in some measure probable, that these appearances imply nothing miraculous on the part of the good or evil angels, but that God is pleased to permit them, for reasons best known to himself.

M

4. That

4. That we can lay down no certain rules, or form any demonstrable hypothesis upon this subject, for want of knowing perfectly what is the nature, and how extensive are the powers of these spiritual beings.

5. That there is a great difference between apparitions in dreams, and apparitions to persons awake; between apparitions of solid bodies, which speak, walk, eat, and drink, and apparitions of mere shadows, or bodies of a thin airy substance; and lastly, that the dead bodies, which come again in Greece, Hungary, Moravia, and Silesia, are to be accounted for upon different principles from all these.

6. Upon the whole, it would be rash to lay down the same principles, and to reason in the same manner upon all these different phænomena; since every species of apparitions requires a distinct consideration.

LXXV.

Manner of accounting for apparitions.

THE first that occur are apparitions in dreams. Of this sort was that of the angel who appeared to Joseph, and ordered him to carry the child Jesus into Egypt, because Herod sought to destroy him. In this apparition there are two things to be considered; the impression made upon Joseph's mind, of an angel's appearing to him; and the prediction, or rather discovery of Herod's wicked intentions. We may with certainty pronounce both these to exceed the ordinary powers of human nature, but are not sure that they are beyond the power of an angel. This, however,

ever, is certain, that it could be done only by the will and command of God.

Next come the apparitions of angels, devils, and ghosts, with only apparent bodies, or mere shadows and phantoms. Of this sort was that of the angel who appeared to Manoah, the father of Samson, and vanished with the smoke of the sacrifice: and the angel that delivered Peter out of prison, and disappeared in the same manner, after having led him through one street. With regard to the bodies of these angels, which I suppose to have been only apparent, there occur some difficulties, not easily cleared up. For these bodies must either have been their own property, or only borrowed and assumed.

If we suppose them to have been their own, and to assent to the opinion of several ancient and some modern writers, that angels and devils, and even human souls, are invested with a thin, transparent, airy body, the difficulty will be to account for this transparent body's being condensed, so as to become visible. If it were naturally visible, nothing less than a perpetual miracle could make it invisible, and unperceived by our senses. But if it be naturally invisible, what power has interposed to make it visible? Which ever side we take, it seems equally miraculous to render a spiritual being an object of sense, and to make a palpable and corporeal being invisible.

LXXVI.

Of the opinion that spirits have subtile bodies.

THE primitive fathers of the church, who attributed to angels their aerial bodies, were less at a loss to account for the several phænomena which puzzle our modern systems. For instance, the prediction of future events by devils, and their miraculous operations upon the air, and other elements, and even human bodies; (all which vastly exceed the power of the most exalted faculties of men) the production of diseases, by evil angels corrupting and infecting the air, their prompting men to wicked thoughts and impure desires, their knowledge of all our thoughts and desires, their foreseeing changes in the air, coming of storms, and the badness of approaching seasons. All these phænomena, I say, are accounted for with greater ease by those, who suppose that devils have bodies composed of a very thin and subtile species of air.

St. Austin had once asserted, that spirits have a faculty of finding out our most secret thoughts and inclinations, by observing certain external tokens and motions, which escape the vigilance of the most circumspect of men. But upon farther reflection, he retracted this ^k opinion, and owned that he had spoken too decisively upon so intricate a question, and that the manner in which evil angels discover our thoughts, is a subject too much involved in obscurity to be clearly comprehended, or satisfactorily explained by man. He chuses, therefore, to suspend his judgment, and continue in doubt upon this matter.

* August. Retract. l. ii. c. 30.

We are also equally ignorant of the manner in which the two following effects are produced: namely, how a spirit endued with a body, material indeed, but extremely thin and subtile, can condense and thicken this body, so as to make it an object of sight and touch; or, how a spirit can produce such a change in the rays of light, as to render them capable of making the same impressions upon our senses, that a real, material body would do, if it were present.

LXXVII.

Difficulty of accounting for apparitions, upon a supposition that angels, souls, &c. are purely spiritual beings.

THE difficulty still increases, if we suppose these spirits to be entirely disengaged from all matter. For in this case, how can we account for a spirit's taking a certain quantity of matter, uniting himself to it, and forming it into the shape of a human body, so accurately as to be known, to be capable of speaking, acting, conversing, eating, and drinking; all which was done by the angels that appeared to Abraham¹, and the angel that conducted Tobit to Rages^m? Are these things performed by a bare exertion of the natural powers of these spirits? And has God originally endued them with this power, and obliged himself, by virtue of the established laws of nature, to communicate, in consequence of the volitions of the spiritual substance, certain motions to the air, or to any other body, which it should think proper to assume for the performance of these functions,

¹ Gen. xviii. 1, 2.

^m Tobit xii. 19.

in the same manner as, in consequence of the union between the human soul and body, he has empowered the soul to communicate to the body, such a quantity, and such a direction of motion, as it has before resolved to communicate? And yet there is naturally no connection between matter and spirit; nor can they act upon each other, by virtue of any discoverable law of nature. The whole must be resolved into the arbitrary will of the first cause of all things, who has thought proper to produce such a degree of motion, and to cause such effects, in consequence of the determinations of the human will.

Or, shall we adopt the system of a modern writer*, and say; “ Though we have the ideas of
 “ matter and thinking, yet possibly we shall never
 “ be able to know, whether any mere material being
 “ thinks or not; it being impossible for us,
 “ by the contemplation of our own ideas, without
 “ revelation, to discover whether omnipotency
 “ has not given to some systems of matter, fitly
 “ disposed, a power to perceive and think, or else
 “ joined and fixed to matter so disposed, a thinking
 “ immaterial substance: it being, in respect of
 “ our notions, not much more remote from our
 “ comprehension to conceive, that God can, if he
 “ pleases, superadd to matter a faculty of thinking,
 “ than that he should superadd to it another
 “ substance, with a faculty of thinking; since we
 “ know not wherein thinking consists, nor to what
 “ sort of substances the Almighty has been pleased
 “ to give that power, which cannot be in any
 “ created being, but merely by the good pleasure
 “ and bounty of the creator.”

But this hypothesis certainly abounds with great absurdities, greater, I think, than those which it

* Locke's Essay, Book iv. c. 3. § 6.

was intended to avoid. We have clear ideas of matter's being divisible and susceptible of motion, but we have no comprehension of its being capable of thinking, or that thinking can consist in a particular configuration of parts, or a certain degree of motion. But were it possible that a power of thinking should arise from matter's being modified and moved after a certain manner; it will follow, that when this modification is altered, or this motion suspended, the power of thinking will cease; and consequently that which constitutes the essence of man, considered as a reasonable being, will be destroyed. And thus there is an end of all religion, and all our hopes of a future life.

God forbid that we should think of assigning limits to the almighty power of the Supreme Being. But since all our knowledge necessarily depends upon the clearness of our ideas, and we are entirely in the dark where this clearness is wanting, it follows, that we have no right to assert the possibility of matter's thinking, since we cannot discover the least possible connection between matter and thought. Indeed, if we could borrow any light from revelation, and the thing had been decided by the authority of Scripture, we might then silence the workings of human reason, and *bring into captivity every thought to the obedience of faith*. But it is allowed, that revelation is wholly silent upon this head; nor has the truth of the notion been established by any demonstrative proof. It can, therefore, be looked upon as nothing but a mere hypothesis, invented in order to get rid of certain difficulties arising from the contrary notion. But if it be so difficult to explain the manner in which the soul acts upon the body, is it not still more difficult to conceive the soul itself to be a material, extended substance? But if this must be

admitted, I desire to know, whether, in this case, the soul acts upon itself, and begins its own motion, in order to think? Whether thought is nothing but mere motion, or a consequence of motion? Whether this thinking matter thinks always, or only now and then? Upon a cessation of thought, what cause produces it afresh? Is it God, or the soul itself? Can a substance, simple and uncompounded, act upon itself, and almost create itself anew, by thinking?

But, to apply what has been advanced above, to this question of apparitions, I think we shall be involved in fewer difficulties, by supposing spirits to have, as it were, a property in a certain quantity of matter, which they can dispose of and move as they please; than by embracing the contrary opinion. The thing will become still easier, by supposing that this matter is capable of being condensed or rarefied itself, of condensing or rarefying the air about it, and of acting upon our senses in such a manner, as to make us believe, that we actually see, feel, hear, or touch what only passes in our imagination; or, on the contrary, of not seeing or feeling what is actually present to our senses.

LXXVIII.

Difficulties attending this subject, whatever system we embrace.

MY reader will probably complain, that I leave him in a state of confusion; and that, instead of clearing up this subject of apparitions, I involve it in fresh doubt and perplexity. The charge, I own, is just; but I chuse rather to suspend

pend my judgment, than to pronounce decisively upon a subject which I do not fully comprehend. And if I were to confine myself strictly to what our religion teaches us concerning the nature of angels, devils, and human souls, I should say, that as they are pure spirits, it is impossible they should ever appear in any body whatsoever, except in case of a miracle: supposing all along, that God has not formed them so as to be naturally capable of these functions, subordinately to his sovereign will, which seldom permits them to exert this power of appearing corporally to men.

If there have been instances of angels eating, speaking, walking, and acting like men, it was not because they were under any necessity of eating and drinking, in order to support their being, but to execute the will of God, who was pleased that they should perform these functions when they appeared to men. *By the will of our God, says the archangel Raphael°, I came—all these days did I appear unto you [to eat and drink] but I did neither eat nor drink, but you did see a vision.* And indeed it is not easy to form any notion of the nourishment of angels, who are beings of a purely spiritual nature, or to guess what became of the food, which this Raphael, and the three angels, whom Abraham entertained in his tent, took, or, at least, seemed to take in the common way.

• Tobit xii. 18, 19.

LXXIX.

Whether the bodies of ghosts are animated by their former souls, or by devils.

THE same difficulties occur likewise in the case of apparitions of departed souls, except we admit of this solution, that souls sometimes return to their former bodies for a small space of time, in order to desire prayers, or to see restitution made, or merely with a view to disturb the living; which last seems to be the only assignable motive, in the case of the vampires which are so much talked of in Moravia, Hungary, and Silesia. For it is very uncertain, whether this species of apparitions is caused on by human souls, or by devils. The truth seems rather to be, that in some instances, devils are the agents, and in others, departed souls.

One may easily conceive how a soul, assisted by the power of God, can communicate fresh motion to a body, which still retains some proximity to life by the fluidity of its blood, and the mobility and solid texture of its organs, as has been observed to be the case in vampires and broucolaea's; of which last I shall give some account by and by. Their limbs have been found to be pliant and moveable, the blood warm and fluid, and all the parts of the body entire; so that nothing was wanting but to make the heart resume its motion, and to restore to the machine its substantial form, that is, its reasonable soul, or, if you please, to make an evil spirit enter the body in its room.

LXXX.

Of hobgoblins, and what notions we are to entertain of them.

AS for the apparitions of goblins, familiar spirits, incubi, succubi, lamiae, fairies, angels, lemures, and a hundred other sorts of spirits commonly talked of, I readily allow that most of the stories related of them are trifling and fabulous. I should never have done, if I had a mind to collect all that I have heard or read relating to this matter, or to give an abstract of the opinions of many celebrated writers, both ancient and modern, upon the subject of these apparitions. The labour would still be greater to attempt to confute, and shew the folly of, the tales that are vulgarly received; and the result of it would probably be nothing more, than to add to the doubt and uncertainty in which the subject is already involved, since I could pretend to nothing beyond mere conjecture and hypothesis. The assertors of the corporality of angels, devils, and souls, reason upon one set of principles; and those who believe them to be incorporeal, and entirely disengaged from all matter, proceed upon quite different maxims.

Those who pretend that the common stories concerning spirits and ghosts are mere fictions of churchmen, who find their account in propagating these opinions, would do well to reflect, that the heathens, who derived no advantage from these apparitions, and the barbarous nations of the North, who cannot be suspected of such artifices, have all along had the same notions of spirits, ghosts, goblins, devils, and genii, that prevail among Christians and church-men. And what is very remarkable, the primitive Christians, who are asserted by protestants

protestants to have known nothing of a purgatory, or prayers for the dead, make frequent mention of apparitions of departed souls, and of devils that have been known to possess, molest, and exert a very extensive power over men. No authors have writ in stronger terms, concerning obsessions, apparitions, and the power of devils, than the ancient fathers; and in all ages of the church, it has been a custom to exorcise children that come to be baptized, and persons under obsessions or possessions of the devil. In these practices it is evident, that the interest of bishops and priests was not in the least concerned.

LXXXI.

Thoughts concerning goblins.

THE species of spirits, called goblins, seems to be of a middle nature between good and evil angels; for it is very seldom that they do any harm; on the contrary, they frequently do little services, which no one desires of them, such as bringing to the animals they have taken a fancy to, or the houses they frequent, things which belong to other people. That they are not devils, we may conclude from their little waggish tricks; at least, that they are not devils of a malignant nature, such as are in a state of torment in hell, such as solicit men to sin, and such as we pray to be delivered from in the Lord's prayer, when we say, *Lead us not into temptation; but deliver us from evil*, (or, from the evil one, ἀπο το πονηρου.)

If they are good angels, their actions have not that seriousness, which our ideas of the high rank and dignity of those happy spirits teach us to expect. For goblins are never known to lead men into temptation, but generally do them service; they

they are fond of play, and of working in mines, but their labour produces no real effects. Some of them, however, are more mischievously disposed. they are angry at being thwarted, and are sometimes guilty of great disorders, so as to force the workmen to desert mines of great value, which they have taken a fancy to seize for themselves.

Whether they appear in their own proper bodies, or with factitious, artificial, or borrowed bodies, is a point which we are unable to decide. I have given some instances of these spirits which have not appeared at all, but have given proofs of their being present, only by actions or words. The spirit of Epinal, recorded by Richerius, said he was the soul of a young man of the village of Clesentine, not far distant from Epinal. Whether this spirit came from heaven, or hell, or purgatory, is a question which I will not venture to decide. This, however, may be said with safety, that if he made an offering to St. Goerick, he expected to receive some benefit from the saint's protection, or perhaps he had a mind to impose upon the people by this shew of devotion.

LXXXII.

Conclusion of this Dissertation.

UPON the whole, from what has been said upon this head, we may conclude,

First, that the matter of fact, (namely, that angels, devils, and departed souls, do sometimes come again and appear, and consequently, that these apparitions are not only possible, but real and actual, founded upon the authority of the sacred writings both of the Old and New Testament, upon the testimony of authors, Greek and Latin, Christian and

and heathen) is indisputably made out. And yet, we are not, for this reason, to assent to every story that we meet with in uninspired writers, or even to answer for the truth of all that is advanced in this Dissertation.

Secondly, That the manner in which these apparitions are brought about, is hitherto unknown. Neither Scripture, nor reason, supply us with any certain principles for the explication of these phenomena; and, therefore, we can only form conjectures, and guess at probable solutions. And this we have a right to do, provided we confine our doubts within the limits of reason, and are guided in our enquiries by a spirit of modesty and docility to the great points of religion.

Thirdly, That the soul is immortal, and that there is a future state, with punishments for the wicked, and rewards for the good, and that nothing defiled shall enter into the kingdom of God. That there are good angels, which incline us to good, and evil angels, which tempt us to irreligion, wickedness, and impenitence: and these are the points which I proposed to demonstrate in this Treatise.

Fourthly, That it is probable that spiritual beings, as well as departed souls, as angels and devils, are invested by the Supreme Being, the creator and preserver of all things, with an extensive power of acting upon sublunary bodies, and causing in them very great and very dreadful alterations.

This conclusion is confirmed by a variety of facts, recorded in an infinite number of histories, and by the exorcisms and prayers of the church, which are founded upon a persuasion that the air is full of evil spirits, called by St. Paul ^p, *princes of the power*

^p Ephes. ii. 2. and vi. 12.

of the air, and rulers of the darkness of this world, the head of whom is stiled in the Gospel^a, *the prince of this world*. We may farther gather, that the power of these spirits would be much more extensive than it is, if it were not limited and suspended by the power of God, and the mercy of Jesus Christ, who assures us in his Gospel^c, that he has overcome Satan, and made him *fall from heaven*, and commands us to *pray without ceasing*, that we may resist temptation, and be secure from the malice of the devil, who, in the apostle's phrase^d, *like a roaring lion, walketh about seeking to devour us*, if we give him any opportunity of doing it by our own negligence and presumption, in exposing ourselves needlessly to the danger of his temptations.

^a John xii. 31. xiv. 30.
xvi. 11.

^c Luke x. 18.
^d 1 Pet. v. 8.



A DISSERTATION

A
DISSERTATION
CONCERNING
VAMPIRES,
OR THE
SPECTRES

Which appear in

Hungary, Bohemia, Moravia and Silefia.

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DISSERTATION

CONCERNING

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P R E F A C E.

EVERY age, nation, and country has its particular prejudices, diseases, fashions, and inclinations, which seem to distinguish their several characters, and having had their day, go off, and are succeeded by others: and it frequently happens, that what was the object of admiration at one time, is treated with contempt and ridicule in another.

There have been ages in which the empire of fashion has extended itself even to matters of devotion, learning, and discipline, and would suffer only particular sorts of each to go down. For more than a century, the prevailing taste of Europe was travelling to Jerusalem. Kings, princes, nobles, bishops, priests, and monks, ran thither in crowds. At another time, pilgrimages to Rome were in high vogue; and at present they are both laid aside. Whole provinces were, at one time, overrun with flagellants; and now there remains no trace of them, but in a few fraternities of penitents, which still subsist in some obscure places.

There appeared not long ago in this part of Europe, a sort of tumblers and dancers, who were eternally capering and dancing in the streets, the squares, and even in the churches: and they seem to be revived in the convulsionaries of our time, who will be a fresh subject of astonishment to posterity, as they are of ridicule to us. About the end of the sixteenth century, and the beginning of the seventeenth, nothing was talked of in Lorraine but wizards and witches; but it is now a great while since they have been entirely forgot. At the first appearance of Descartes's philosophy, the run it had was surprising. The ancient systems were ex-

ploded, and nothing talked of but experiments in natural philosophy, new hypotheses, new discoveries. No sooner did Newton appear, than he drew all the world after him. What a disturbance was lately raised in the kingdom by Mr. Law's scheme, bank bills, and all the madness of Quinquempoix-street? It seems to be a new species of convulsion that had laid hold of every head in France.

In this century, a new scene has been presented to our view, for about sixty years past, in Hungary, Moravia, Silesia, and Poland. It is common, we are told, to see men, who have been dead several years, or, at least, several months, come again, walk about, infest villages, torment men and cattle, suck the blood of their relations, throw them into disorders, and, at last, occasion their death: and there is no way, it seems, to get rid of these troublesome visitants, but by digging them out of their graves, impaling them, cutting off their heads, taking out their hearts, and burning their bodies. The name by which they are known, is that of Oupires, or Vampires; and the stories about them are related with such a minute particularity and probability of circumstances, and confirmed by so many solemn attestations upon oath, that one can scarce reject the opinion which prevails in those countries, that these ghosts seem really to come out of their graves, and produce the effects which are related of them.

It is certain, that nothing of this sort was ever seen or known in antiquity. Search the histories of the Jews, Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans, and you will find nothing that comes near it. It is true, there are instances in history, but they are very rare, of persons that have returned to life, after having been some time in their graves, and looked upon as dead. We shall find too, that it was an opinion among the ancients, that magick might be employed both to deprive people of their lives, and to raise the souls of the deceased. There are some passages cited, which prove that

that it was a prevailing notion in certain times, that wizards sucked the blood of men and children, and occasioned their death. In the twelfth century, there appeared ghosts of much the same species with those in Hungary; but in no history do we read of any thing so common, or so circumstantial, as these relations of vampires in Germany.

We meet with some instances in Christian antiquity, of excommunicated persons, who have visibly, and before all the congregation, come out of their graves, and quitted the church, when the deacon pronounced the order for all excommunicated persons, and those who did not partake in the sacred mysteries, to retire. For many ages past, nothing of this sort has happened, though it is evident, that several persons, who died in a state of excommunication, are buried in churches, and are every day present at the holy sacrifice.

The opinion entertained by the modern Greeks, that the bodies of excommunicated persons were not in their graves, has no foundation either in antiquity or sound philosophy, and is not even countenanced by history. It seems to be an invention of the modern schismatics of the Greek church, to authorise and support their revolt from the Roman communion. The opinion of the primitive church was directly contrary; namely, that the incorruptible state of a carcass was rather a symptom of sanctity, and a proof of a particular superintendence of Providence over a body, which had formerly been the temple of the Holy Ghost, and had kept up the genuine character of Christianity, by living in righteousness and innocence.

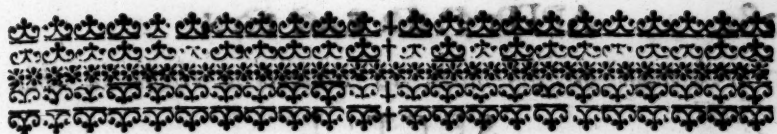
The broncolaca's of Greece and the Archipelago, are ghosts of another species. One can scarce persuade one's self that it could be ever possible for the Greeks to entertain so romantick a notion. They must needs be deeply immersed in ignorance and prejudice, since there has hitherto appeared no writer of any sort, either

church-man or lay-man, to undeceive them in this respect.

The notion entertained by some of dead people's chewing in their graves, and making a noise, like hogs when they eat, is too ridiculous to deserve a serious confutation.

My design in this Dissertation is to discuss the question concerning the ghosts or vampires of Hungary, Moravia, Silesia, and Poland. I expect to meet with great severity of criticism, in what way soever I handle it. Those who are convinced of the truth of these relations, will accuse me of rashness and presumption, for venturing to question them, and much more for denying their existence. Others will blame me for throwing away my time in writing upon this subject, which is looked upon as frivolous and trifling by many persons of unquestionable good sense. But, whatever opinion may be entertained of my design, I can never repent of having examined to the bottom a subject, which I thought of importance in a religious view. For if the return of these vampires be real, it is worth while to defend and establish its truth. If it be nothing but mere whim, it is of great importance to religion, to undeceive those who look upon it as true, and to put a stop to an error that may be attended with very dangerous consequences.

A DISSERTATION



A

DISSERTATION

CONCERNING

VAMPIRES,

OR THE

Spectres which appear in Hungary,
Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia.

*** HAVING treated, in a particular Dissertation, the subject of apparitions of angels, devils, and departed souls, I am tempted, by the affinity of the matter, to say something of spectres of another sort, namely, those that come again in the body: such as excommunicated persons, whom the earth is said to cast up out of her bowels, the vampires of Hungary, Silesia, Bohemia, Moravia, and Poland; and the broncolaca's of Greece. In treating this subject, I shall first give the substance of what I have learned about it, either from common report, or from books: secondly, I shall deduce some consequences from it, and then give the reasons that may be alledged both for and against the existence and reality of these apparitions.

SECT. I.

That the resurrection of a dead body can be effected by God only.

Lay it down, at first, as an indisputable principle, that to raise to life again a person that is really dead, can be effected only by the power of God. It is impossible for any man to restore life, either to himself or to another, without a visible miracle.

Our Saviour indeed rose again, as he had foretold, by virtue of his own power; but his resurrection was attended with circumstances of a most miraculous nature. If he had risen, immediately after his being taken down from the cross, it might have been said that he was not quite dead, and that some principles of life were still left in him, which might be revived by the help of warmth, or cordials, or other things capable of recovering the spirits. But he did not rise till the third day, and he had even been killed, if I may use the expression, after he was dead, by his side being pierced with the spear, which alone must have occasioned his death, if he had not been too far gone before.

When Lazarus was raised to life*, our Saviour staid till he had been dead four days, and begun to putrefy, which circumstance is the most infallible symptom of real death, and leaves no hopes of returning to life, but by supernatural means.

The resurrection of which Job^b expresses such a confident expectation; the instance of the dead man, who revived upon touching Elisha's bones^c; that of the Shunamite's son, who was re-

* John xi. 39.

^b Job xix. 25.

^c 2 Kings xiii. 21, 22.

stored to life by the same prophet *, and the resurrection of the dry bones foretold by Ezekiel †, and fulfilled in his presence; in a word, all the instances of resurrections recorded both in the Old and New Testament, are evidently miraculous effects, and to be attributed solely to the almighty power of God.

II.

Revival of persons not really dead.

AS for instances of resuscitations, in cases where persons have been thought dead, but were only asleep, or in a lethargy, or have lain long under water, and recovered afterwards by proper care, good remedies, and the assistance of skilful surgeons; these are evidently out of the present question. The persons, in these cases, cannot be considered as properly coming to life again, since they were not really, but only apparently dead.

I mean to speak of another sort of resuscitated persons, who have been buried several months, and in some cases several years, and who must needs have been suffocated in their graves, if they had at first been buried alive, but are found with many symptoms of life about them, such as their blood still fluid, their flesh entire, their colour fresh, and their limbs pliant and flexible. These are the spectres which are said to come again, as well by day as in the night. Their errand is to torment the living in all manner of ways, such as sucking their blood, and so causing their death, appearing in their former clothes to their own families, sitting down at table, and a thousand other things; which having done, they return to their graves, and no one can discover how they got out of them,

* 2 Kings iv.

† Ezek. xxxvii. 1, 2, 3, &c.

nor how they find their way into them again. In short, it is a sort of momentary resurrection; for instead of living, eating, drinking, and conversing with other men, like the persons recorded in Scripture to have been raised from the dead, these vampires appear only for a certain time, in certain countries, and in certain circumstances, and never appear any more after they are impaled, burned, or beheaded.

III.

How this species of resurrection may be effected.

IF we suppose this last sort of *redivivi* not to be really dead, there is nothing supernatural in their return, except the manner in which it is done, and the circumstances with which it is attended. For it may be questioned, whether they do any thing more than wake out of their sleep, or recover their spirits, like persons who fall into a swoon, or fainting fit, and after a time come to themselves naturally, by the blood and animal spirits returning to their usual motion.

But supposing this to be the case, how do they come out of their graves, without opening the earth, and go in again, without leaving any marks behind them? Besides, was there ever an instance of a lethargick or fainting fit that lasted for whole years? And, if we must admit of a real resurrection, was it ever known, that dead persons were raised of themselves, and by their own proper power?

If they were not raised by their own power, shall we have recourse to the power of God for the solution of the difficulty? But what proof have we of the interposition of God? or what end can be assigned for this exertion of his omnipotence?

Shall

Shall we venture to say, that he designs the manifestation of his own glory; and that his glory is really promoted by vampires?

But if God be not the agent, is it an angel, or a devil, or the soul that formerly was united to the body of the vampire? With regard to the latter, is it certain, that a soul, once separated from the body, has a power of entering again at will, and restoring it anew to life, for a bare quarter of an hour? As to either of the former, shall we attribute to an angel or devil a power of restoring a dead person to life? Certainly not, except in case of an express command, or, at the lowest, a permission from God. I have discussed, in the former part of this work, the question concerning the natural power of angels and devils over human bodies; and shewn, that neither reason nor revelation furnish us with any certain information upon this head.

IV.

Instance of a man, who had been buried three years, raised to life again by St. Stanislaus.

ALL the lives of the saints abound with various instances of persons raised to life again; which instances have evidently a connexion with the subject now before us, concerning dead persons, or such as have been thought dead, appearing again with a human body and soul, and even living some time after their resurrection. Of all the stories of this sort, I shall only relate that of St. Stanislaus, bishop of Cracow, who raised a man to life that had been dead three years, with circumstances of so remarkable a nature, and in so publick a manner, that the fact will stand the test of the severest enquiry. The life of St. Stanislaus was writ either at the time of his

his martyrdom, or soon after, by different authors, fully acquainted with the things they relate; for the martyrdom of the saint, and above all, the resurrection of the dead man, were seen by an infinite number of witnesses, and particularly by all king Boleslaus's court; and as the event happened in Poland, where vampires are to this day very common, it may, upon this account, be considered as having a particular relation to the matter which I am now treating.

St. Stanislaus having bought of a gentleman, named Peter, an estate situated upon the Vistula, in the territory of Lublin, for the use of his cathedral, paid the money to the seller before several witnesses, and with all the forms requisite in that country, but without any written instrument; for at that time purchases were generally made in Poland before witnesses only. St. Stanislaus soon after took possession of the estate by the king's authority, and his church had quiet possession of it for about three years.

In the interval, the gentleman who had sold it died; and Boleslaus, king of Poland, who had conceived an implacable hatred to the bishop, for the freedom which he had taken in reproofing the king's vices, laid hold of this occasion to vex him; and prevailed upon the gentleman's three sons to claim the estate, which their father had sold, on a pretence of its not being paid for; and the king promised to support the claim, and get it adjudged to them. Upon this assurance, the gentlemen summoned the bishop to appear before the king, who was then at Soleck, administering justice in the general assembly of the nation, held under tents in the open field, according to the ancient custom of the country. The bishop appeared before the king,

* Vide Bolland, t. ii. Maii, p. 196, & seq.

and asserted, that he had bought and paid for the estate in dispute; but when the witnesses were summoned, they would not venture to give their evidence. It happened that the place where the assembly was held was very near Peterwin, the name of the estate in question. Night was coming on, and the bishop was in great danger of being condemned by the king and his assessors; when all on a sudden, as if seized with a divine inspiration, he cried out, that he would undertake to bring Peter, who had sold the estate, before the king within three days. The proposal was accepted; but treated with great contempt, as impossible to be executed.

The bishop immediately set out for Peterwin, where he spent the three days in prayer and fasting with all his attendants. The third day he went in his pontifical habit, accompanied by his clergy, and a great multitude of people, to Peter's grave, and ordered them to lift off the stone, and dig till they came to the dead man's carcass, which they found quite decayed and putrefied. The saint commanded him to come out, and appear before the king's tribunal, to give evidence of the truth. The dead man immediately rose, and a mantle being thrown over him, the saint took him by the hand, and conducted him to the king. None of the judges had the courage to examine him: but he spoke of his own accord, and declared that he had sold his estate fairly to the bishop, and had received the full price for it. He then reprimanded his sons very severely, for being concerned in so malicious a prosecution of the good bishop.

The saint then asked him, if he chose to continue alive for any time, in order to complete his repentance; but the man thanked him, and said he did not desire to be again exposed to the danger of sinning. Upon this, the bishop waited upon him
back

back to his grave, where he fell asleep again in the Lord. It may easily be supposed, that a fact of this sort must be known to an infinite number of witnesses, and soon propagated over all Poland. These circumstances served only to increase the king's hatred against the bishop; and soon after he murdered him with his own hand, as he came down from the altar, and ordered his body to be cut into seventy two parts; with a spiteful view to hinder them from being reassembled, and receiving that worship, which was indispensably due to the body of a martyr, who suffered for the cause of truth and episcopal liberty.

I come now to the principal subject of this disquisition, namely, the vampires of Hungary and Moravia, and others of the same species, who appear only for a short space of time in their natural bodies.

V.

Resurrection and apparition of a girl, who had been dead several months.

PHLEGON, freed-man to the emperor Adrian, in a fragment of his book *De Mirabilibus*^a, relates, that at Tralles in Asia, there was an innkeeper, who carried on a criminal conversation with a girl, named Philinnium, daughter of Demostratus and Charito. It was not long before the girl died, and was buried; but she still continued to visit her gallant every night, and eat, drank, and lay with him. One day, the girl's nurse happened to see her sitting with Machates, the innkeeper, and ran immediately with the news

^a Phleg. de Mirabilib. t. viii. Gronov. Antiq. Græc. p. 2694.

to her mother Charito; who, after a great many scruples, came at last to the inn, but could not satisfy her curiosity, as it was very late, and every one in bed. She discovered, however, her daughter's clothes, and fancied that she saw her daughter in bed with Machates. The next morning she came again, but having lost her way, she missed seeing her daughter, who was gone before the mother came. Machates related to her the whole affair of her daughter's coming to him, by night, for some time past; and for a proof of what he asserted, he opened a trunk, and shewed a ring which Philinnium had given him, and the fillet tied over her breast, which she had left behind her the night before.

Charito being no longer able to question the truth of the fact, abandoned herself to cries and tears; but being assured that she should have notice the next night, when Philinnium came, she went home. In the evening, the girl came as usual, and Machates instantly sent to her parents; for he begun to suspect that some other girl had taken Philinnium's clothes out of her grave, in order to deceive him.

When Demostratus and Charito came, they instantly knew their daughter, and ran to embrace her; but she cried out, what could induce you to disturb my happiness, and hinder me from spending only three days more with Machates, without doing harm to any one? Your curiosity shall cost you dear. And immediately she fell back upon the bed, stone-dead.

Phlegon, who was invested with some command in the city, came and prevented the concourse of people that was assembling from making a tumult. Next morning the people assembled in the theatre, and resolved to search the vault where Philinnium, who died about six months before, was buried.

Upon examining, they found all the rest of the family ranged in order as they were buried, but no Philinnium. There was only an iron ring, and a gilt cup, which she had received as presents from Machates. From the grave, the multitude came to Machates's house, where the body of the girl was found extended upon the floor. The next step was to consult an augur, who ordered them to bury the body without the bounds of the city, to appease the furies, and terrestrial Mercury; to perform solemn obsequies to the *Dii Manes*, and sacrifice to Jupiter Hospitalis, Mercury, and Mars. Phlegon adds, addressing himself to the person he writes to, If you think proper to lay the affair before the emperor, let me know it, that I may send you some of the persons who were witnesses of all these particulars.

Here is a fact related with great particularity of circumstances, and which seems to carry with it all the marks of truth; and yet is embarrassed with numerous difficulties; whether we suppose the girl to be really dead, or only asleep; whether we assert her resurrection to be wrought by a power of her own, and as often as she pleased; or by a dæmon, who restored her to life. One thing seems clear, that it must have been a real body. A variety of circumstances put this out of all doubt. If indeed she was not really dead, but the whole was a contrivance to gratify her passion for Machates, there is nothing very incredible in the whole account, since we all know what love is capable of, and the strange freaks of people under the power of a violent passion.

VI.

A woman taken alive out of her grave.

IN a book lately published, there is a story much like that which I have just related. A tradesman of St. Honoré's street in Paris, had promised his daughter to one of his friends, a tradesman in the same street. Soon after, a receiver of the revenue made his addresses to the girl; and being preferred to the tradesman, her old sweetheart, they were married. The young woman, e'er long, fell ill, and, being supposed to be dead, was buried. Her first lover, having some notion of its being only a lethargy, or fainting fit, took her out of the grave by night, and recovered her. They were soon after married, and went into England, where they lived happily together for several years. At last they returned to Paris, where the woman was found out, upon some publick walk, by her first husband, who claimed her as his wife, and commenced a law-suit against her second husband. They pleaded in their defence, that the first contract was made void by death; and proceeded to accuse the former husband of having designedly buried his wife too soon. But, foreseeing that this plea would not be received as valid, they went abroad a second time, and ended their days in peace.

Will any one now venture to assert, that Philinnum, in Phlegon's story, was not in like manner put into the vault before she was dead, and so came by night to visit her gallant Machates? This was certainly much easier for her, than for the woman in the last instance, who was fairly put under ground,

and continued covered with earth, and wrapped up in a shroud, for some considerable time.

The other instance, related in the same work, is of a young woman who fell into a swoon, and was taken for dead; but in the interval was got with child, without knowing by whom. At last, the author of the great belly, who was a monk, discovered himself, and insisted upon being discharged from his religious vows, as having been made by force. This was the foundation of a long law-suit, the records of which are still preserved. The issue of it was, that the monk was released from his vows, and married the girl. This instance also is much like that of Philinnium, and the girl of St. Honoré's street. These persons, however, were not really dead, and consequently there was no resurrection in their case.

VII.

Apparitions in Moravia.

I Have been assured by the late M. de Vassimont, judge of the court of Exchequer at Bar, that when he was sent into Moravia by his late royal highness Leopold I. duke of Lorraine, upon some business of the duke's brother, prince Charles, bishop of Olmutz and Osnabrug, it was a thing commonly talked of in that country, that persons, who had died some time before, frequently appeared in company, and sat down to table with their former acquaintance, without speaking a word; but that they nodded their head to some one of the company, who infallibly died within a few days. The truth of the fact was asserted to him by several persons, and in particular by an old clergyman, who affirmed that he had known more instances of it than one.

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The bishops and clergy of the country thought proper to consult the pope upon so extraordinary a case, but they received no answer, because the whole was considered as a mere whim, or vulgar error. The next step they took was to dig up the bodies of the persons that came again, and burn them, or consume them some other way. By this means they got rid of these troublesome visitants, and the country, says the honest priest, is not so much infested with them as formerly.

VIII.

Summary of a book, entitled Magia Posthuma.

THIS last species of apparitions has given occasion to a small treatise, entitled *Magia Posthuma*, writ by Charles Ferdinand de Schertz, printed at Olmutz in 1706, and dedicated to prince Charles of Lorraine, bishop of Olmutz and Osnabrug. The author relates a story of a woman that died in a certain village, after having received all the sacraments, and was buried with the usual ceremonies in the church-yard. About four days after her death, the inhabitants of the village were affrighted with an uncommon noise and outcry, and saw a spectre, sometimes in the shape of a dog, and sometimes in that of a man, which appeared to great multitudes of people, and put them to excessive pain, by squeezing their throats, and pressing their breasts, almost to suffocation. There were several whose bodies he bruised all over, and reduced them to the utmost weakness, so that they grew pale, lean, and disfigured. His fury was sometimes so great as not to spare the very beasts; for cows were frequently found beat to the earth, half dead; at other times with their tails tied to one another; and their hideous howlings sufficiently

expressed the pain they felt. Horses were often found almost wearied to death, foaming with sweat, and out of breath, as if they had been running a long and tiresome race: and these calamities continued for several months.

The author of the treatise examines into the subject in the capacity of a lawyer, and discusses both the matter of fact and the points of law arising from it. He is clearly of opinion, that if the suspected person was really the author of these noises, disturbances, and acts of cruelty, the law will justify the burning of the body, as is practised in the case of other spectres which come again and molest the living. He relates also several other stories of apparitions of this sort, and particularises the mischiefs done by them. One, among others, is of a herdsman of the village of Blow near the town of Kadam in Bohemia, who appeared for a considerable time together, and called upon several persons, who all died within eight days. At last, the inhabitants of Blow dug up the herdsman's body, and fixed it in the ground, with a stake drove through it. The man, even in this condition, laughed at the people that were employed about him, and told them they were very obliging to furnish him with a stick to defend himself from the dogs. The same night he extricated himself from the stake, frightened several persons by appearing to them, and occasioned the death of many more than he had hitherto done. He was then delivered into the hands of the hangman, who put him into a cart, in order to burn him without the town. As they went along, the carcass shrieked in the most hideous manner, and threw about its arms and legs, as if it had been alive: and upon being again run through with a stake, it gave a loud cry, and a great quantity of fresh, florid blood issued from the wound. At last,

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the body was burnt to ashes, and this execution put a final stop to the spectre's appearing and infesting the village.

The same method has been practised in other places, where these apparitions have been seen, and upon taking them out of the ground, their bodies have seemed fresh and florid, their limbs pliant and flexible, without any worms or putrefaction, but not without a great stench. The author quotes several other writers, who attest what he relates concerning these spectres, which, he says, still appear in the mountains of Silesia and Moravia. They are seen, it seems, both by day and night, and the things which formerly belonged to them are observed to stir and change their place, without any person's being seen to touch them. And the only remedy in these cases, is to cut off the head, and burn the body of the persons that are supposed to appear.

IX.

Proceedings against the bodies of vampires.

IT is not usual, however, to proceed in this manner, without some form of law. Witnesses are generally summoned, and depositions taken: the arguments on both sides are weighed, and the bodies dug up are inspected, to see if they have the common marks of vampirism, which are, a pliancy and flexibility of limbs, a fluidity of blood, and unputrefied flesh. If these symptoms are discovered, the bodies are delivered to the executioner to be burnt. Notwithstanding which, it sometimes happens, that the spectres are seen three or four days after the execution. Sometimes they delay burying suspected persons for six or seven weeks;

and when it is found that their flesh does not corrupt, and that their limbs continue supple, as if they were alive, they are then burnt. It is moreover asserted for truth, that the clothes of these persons move, without any one's touching them; and very lately, says my author, there has been seen at Olmutz a spectre, which threw stones, and was extremely troublesome to the inhabitants.

X.

Of carcases in Hungary, which suck the blood of living persons.

IT is now about fifteen years, since a soldier, who was quartered in the house of a Haidamack peasant, upon the frontiers of Hungary, saw, as he was at table with his landlord, a stranger come in, and sit down by them. The master of the house, and the rest of the company were strangely terrified, but the soldier knew not what to make of it. The next day the peasant died, and upon the soldier's enquiring into the meaning of it, he was told, that it was his landlord's father, who had been dead and buried above ten years, that came and sat down at table, and gave his son notice of his death.

The soldier soon propagated the story through his regiment, and by this means it reached the general officers, who commissioned the count de Cabrerias, a captain in Alandetti's regiment of foot, to make an exact enquiry into the fact. The count, attended by several officers, a chirurgeon, and a notary, came to the house, and took the depositions of all the family, who unanimously swore, that the spectre was the landlord's father, and that all the soldier had said, was strictly true. The same
was

was also attested by all the inhabitants of the village.

In consequence of this, the body of the spectre was dug up, and found to be in the same state as if it had been but just dead, the blood like that of a living person. The count de Cabreraz ordered its head to be cut off, and the corpse to be buried again. He then proceeded to take depositions against other spectres of the same sort, and particularly against a man who had been dead above thirty years, and had made his appearance three several times in his own house at meal-time. At his first visit, he had fastened upon the neck of his own brother, and sucked his blood: at his second, he had treated one of his children in the same manner; and the third time, he fastened upon a servant of the family, and all three died upon the spot.

Upon this evidence, the count gave orders that he should be dug up; and being found, like the first, with his blood in a fluid state, as if he had been alive, a great nail was drove through his temples, and he was buried again. The count ordered a third to be burnt, who had been dead above sixteen years, and was found guilty of murdering two of his own children, by sucking their blood. The commissioner then made his report to the general officers, who sent a deputation to the emperor's court for further directions; and the emperor dispatched an order for a court, consisting of officers, lawyers, physicians, chirurgeons, and some divines, to go and enquire into the cause of these extraordinary events, upon the spot.

The gentleman who acquainted me with all these particulars, had them from the count de Cabreraz himself, at Fribourg in Brisgau, in the year 1730.

XI.

Story of a vampire taken from the Jewish Letters.

THE following account is extracted from the new edition of the Jewish Letters, published in 1738. Letter cxxxvii.

We have lately had, in these parts of Hungary, a fresh instance of vampirism, attested in form by two officers of the court of Belgrade, who went down to the place, and by an officer of the emperor's troops at Gradisch, who was an eye-witness of the proceedings.

In the beginning of September last, there died in the village of Kisilova, about three leagues from Gradisch, an old man, of the age of sixty-two. Three days after his burial, he appeared in the night to his son, and asked for victuals, which the son gave him, and he eat it and vanished. The next morning, the son informed his neighbours of what had happened. The father did not appear this night; but the night after he came again, and asked for something to eat. It is not known, whether the son gave him any thing or not; but the next morning, he was found dead in his bed; and the same day, five or six persons were taken suddenly ill in the village, and died in a very few days. The magistrate or constable of the place, being informed of what had happened, dispatched an account of it to the court of Belgrade, which sent down two officers, attended by an executioner, to examine into the affair. The commanding officer of the emperor's troops at Gradisch, from whom my information comes, had the curiosity to go with them to see what would be the event. They begun with opening all the graves of the persons that had died within six weeks;

and

and when they came to the grave of this old man, they found his eyes open, his colour fresh and florid, and that he had a natural respiration, but was motionless and quite dead. From these symptoms it was concluded, that he was a vampire of the first magnitude: and the executioner having drove a stake through his heart, a pile was erected, and the carcass reduced to ashes. As for the corpse of the son, and the other persons, they were not discovered to have any marks of vampirism.

Credulity, thank God, is what I am the farthest removed from of any thing in the world. I own that natural philosophy furnishes me with no principles whereby to discover the causes of this uncommon event. But I cannot help assenting to the truth of a fact, established by legal proof, and authenticated by witnesses of undoubted credit. As a farther confirmation, I shall transcribe from number xviii. of the *Gleaner*, an account of a thing that happened in the year 1732.

XII.

Other instances of vampires.

IN the part of Hungary, known in Latin by the name of *Oppida Heidonum*, on the other side of the Tibiscus, vulgarly called the Teyfs; that is, between that part of this river which waters the happy country of Tockay, and the frontiers of Transylvania; the people named *Heydukes* have a notion, that there are dead persons, called by them vampires, which suck the blood of the living, so as to make them fall away visibly to skin and bones, while the carcasses themselves, like leeches, are filled with blood to such a degree, that it comes out at all the apertures of their body. This notion

notion has lately been confirmed by several facts, which I think we cannot doubt the truth of, considering the witnesses who attest them. Some of the most considerable of these facts I shall now relate.

About five years ago, an Heyduke, named Arnold Paul, an inhabitant of Medreiga, was killed by a cart full of hay that fell upon him. About thirty days after his death, four persons died suddenly, with all the symptoms usually attending those who are killed by vampires. It was then remembered, that this Arnold Paul had frequently told a story of his having been tormented by a Turkish vampire, in the neighbourhood of Cassova, upon the borders of Turkish Servia (for the notion is, that those who have been passive vampires in their life-time, become active ones after death; or, in other words, that those who have had their blood sucked, become suckers in their turn) but that he had been cured by eating some of the earth upon the vampire's grave, and by rubbing himself with his blood. This precaution, however, did not hinder him from being guilty himself after his death; for, upon digging up his corpse forty days after his burial, he was found to have all the marks of an arch-vampire. His body was fresh and ruddy, his hair, beard, and nails were grown, and his veins were full of fluid blood, which ran from all parts of his body upon the shroud that he was buried in. The hadnagy, or bailiff of the village, who was present at the digging up of the corpse, and was very expert in the whole business of vampirism, ordered a sharp stake to be drove quite through the body of the deceased, and to let it pass through his heart, which was attended with a hideous cry from the carcass, as if it had been alive. This ceremony being performed,

formed, they cut off the head, and burnt the body to ashes. After this, they proceeded in the same manner with the four other persons that died of vampirism, lest they also should be troublesome. But all these executions could not hinder this dreadful prodigy from appearing again last year, at the distance of five years from its first breaking out. In the space of three months, seventeen persons of different ages and sexes, died of vampirism, some without any previous illness, and others after languishing two or three days. Among others, it was said, that a girl, named Stanoska, daughter of the Heyduke Jotuitzo, went to bed in perfect health, but awoke in the middle of the night, trembling, and crying out, that the son of the Heyduke Millo, who died about nine weeks before, had almost strangled her while she was asleep. From that time, she fell into a languishing state, and died at three days end. Her evidence against Millo's son was looked upon as a proof of his being a vampire, and upon digging up his body, he was found to be such.

At a consultation of the principal inhabitants of the place, attended by physicians and chirurgeons, it was considered how it was possible, that the plague of vampirism should break out afresh, after the precautions that had been taken some years before: and, at last, it was found out, that the original offender, Arnold Paul, had not only destroyed the four persons mentioned above, but had killed several beasts, which the late vampires, and particularly the son of Millo, had fed upon. Upon this foundation, a resolution was taken to dig up all the persons that had died within a certain time. Out of forty were found seventeen, with all the evident tokens of vampirism; and they had all stakes drove through their hearts, their heads cut off,

off, their bodies burnt, and their ashes thrown into the river.

All these several enquiries and executions were carried on with all the forms of law, and attested by several officers who were in garrison in that country, by the chirurgion-majors of the regiments, and by the principal inhabitants of the place. The original papers were all sent, in January last, to the Imperial council of war at Vienna, which had issued out a commission to several officers, to enquire into the truth of the facts.

XIII.

Reasonings of the author of the Jewish Letters upon the subject of vampires.

THERE are two different ways to get rid of the opinion of these pretended spectres, and to shew the impossibility of the effects attributed to the agency of lifeless carcases. The first is, by accounting for all the wonders of vampirism by natural causes. The second, and by far the wisest, is by denying entirely the truth of all these stories. But as there are many who look upon the certificate of a magistrate, as a demonstration of the truth of any absurd tale, it may be proper, before I proceed to shew how little stress should be laid upon forms of law in philosophical matters, let it be supposed, that some people have really died of the disorder usually called vampirism.

It may readily be allowed to be possible, that the blood of human bodies, even after they have been buried several days, should still retain its fluidity, and issue from the canals of the carcase. Add to this, how easy it is for some people to fancy themselves to be sucked by vampires, and for the
fear

fear which must naturally attend this opinion, to cause in them so great a commotion, as to deprive them of life. Their imagination being possessed all day with the fear of these pretended spectres, it is not to be wondered at, that the same ideas should present themselves in sleep, and occasion so great a fright, as to make some persons die immediately, and others in a few days. We know that it is not an uncommon case for people to die instantaneously by fear; and sometimes joy has been known to produce that effect.

In the *Leipfick Journals*, I have met with an abridgment of a little work, entitled, *Philosophica & Christiana cogitationes de Vampiris, à Johanne Christophoro Herenbergio. Philosophical and Christian Reflections concerning Vampires, by John Christopher Herenberg, printed in 1733.* The author mentions a great number of writers, who have treated this subject, and introduces a story of a spectre that appeared to himself at noon-day. He asserts, that no one was ever killed by vampires, and that the vulgar notions of this matter are founded in nothing but the disturbed imagination of the patients. He collects a variety of instances to prove, that the imagination is capable of producing great disorders in the animal frame. He says, that in *Sclavonia*, the punishment inflicted upon murderers, is impaling them, and driving a stake through their hearts; and that from hence the same punishment was derived upon vampires, the supposed murderers of the persons whose blood they suck; and he gives some instances of this punishment being executed upon them, and particularly once in the year 1337, and again in 1347. He makes mention also of the opinion entertained by some, that dead

* Supplementum ad Act. Brudit. Lips. Ann. 1738. t. ii. p. 89.

persons eat in their graves; and he endeavours to prove the antiquity of this notion, by a passage in Tertullian's book of the Resurrection, by St. Augustin de Civitate Dei, l. viii. c. 27, & Serm. xvi. de Sanctis.

This is nearly the substance of M. Herenberg's book concerning vampires. The passage which he quotes from Tertullian, is a clear proof that the heathens had a custom of setting meat before their dead, even those whose bodies were burnt, upon a supposition that their souls fed upon it. *Defunctis parentant, & quidem impensissimo studio, pro moribus eorum, pro temporibus esulentorum, ut quos sentire quicquam negant, escam desiderare præsument.* But this relates only to the heathens.

But St. Augustin, in several places, mentions a custom that prevailed among the Christians, particularly in Africa, of carrying meat and wine to the tombs of the deceased, and there making a sort of devotional feast, to which the poor were always invited; as indeed the institution was principally intended for their benefit. St. Monica, mother to St. Augustin^m, having a mind to keep up at Milan the old custom, which she had been used to in Africa, St. Ambrose expressed his disapprobation of it, as being unusual in his church; and the good lady left off her practice of carrying a basket of fruit and wine to the church-yard, which she used only to taste herself, and leave the rest for the poor. St. Augustin, in the same place, observes, that too many Christians laid hold of this opportunity to indulge their intemperate love of wine. *Ne ulla occasio ingurgitandi daretur vestris.*

¹ Tertull. de Resurrect. Initio.

^m August. Confess. l. vi. c. 2.

St. Augustin^a, however, exerted himself so effectually, both in his sermons, and by private remonstrances, that he entirely got the better of this custom, which had gained footing all over Africa, and was too generally abused. In his books *De Civitate Dei*^a, he makes it appear, that the custom was neither universally received, nor approved by the church; and that they who gave into it, did no more than lay their meat upon the tombs of the martyrs, that it might be sanctified by their merits; after which, they carried it home, and having satisfied themselves, distributed the rest to the poor. *Quicumque suas epulas eo deferunt (quod quidem a melioribus Christianis non fit, & in plerisque terrarum nulla talis est consuetudo) tamen quicumque id faciunt, eas cum apposuerint, orant, & auferunt, ut vescantur, vel ex eis etiam indigentibus largiantur.* It appears by two sermons, which have been ascribed to St. Augustin, that this custom had formerly crept into the church of Rome, but did not subsist there long, and was always disapproved and condemned.

Now, were it true that bodies have an appetite for food, and actually do eat in their graves (for this was the opinion of those mentioned by Tertullian, and we may infer it from the custom of carrying victuals, fruit, and wine, to the tombs of the martyrs and other Christians; nay farther, I think I can produce indisputable proofs, that these things were in some places put into the graves along with the dead bodies of Christians, since I have by me several vessels of clay and glass, and even plates, with bones of pig and fowl still upon them, which were found very deep in the ground,

^a Aug. ep. xxii. ad Aurel. Carthag. & ep. xxix. ad Alypium. Item de Morib. Eccles. c. xxxiv.

in the church belonging to the abbey of St. Man-
soy, near the city of Toul, where I can scarce think
that any heathen was ever buried). If, I say, bo-
dies do really eat in their graves, they certainly
are not dead, and may consequently come again,
and torment the living, and foretell to them the
approach of death. Upon this footing, the return
of vampires is neither impossible nor incredible.

But since this notion of dead persons eating in
their graves, is an improbable whimsey, nay, ab-
solutely incredible and void of all possibility, what-
ever be the number or credit of those, who have
been thought to believe it, I shall still maintain, that
the return of vampires is unsupportable and im-
practicable.

XIV.

Vampirism owing to an epidemical fanaticism.

UPON examining closely the narrations of the
death of these pretended martyrs to vampi-
rism, I discover all the symptoms of an epidemical
fanaticism, and am convinced that their death is
occasioned by nothing but the impressions of their
own fear. A girl, named Stanoska, daughter of
the Heyduke Jotuitzo, is said to have gone to bed
in perfect health, and to have waked in the night,
trembling and shrieking, and crying out, that the
son of the Heyduke Millo, who had been dead
about nine months, had very near strangled her in
her sleep. From that moment she fell into a lan-
guishing disorder, and, at the end of three days,
died. To a person who has any thing of a phi-
losophical eye, this single relation is sufficient to
prove, that this fancied vampirism resides wholly
in the imagination. In the case before us, a girl
is waked out of her sleep; she says, that a person
attempted

attempted to strangle her; the vampire, however, does not suck her blood, but is hindered from making his meal. Nor is it at all probable that he had better success afterwards, as she would scarce be left by herself on the following nights; and if the vampire had made any fresh attempt, the persons present must have known it. Nevertheless, she dies within three days; and her fright and lowness of spirits, her sad and languishing state, are an evident proof how strongly her imagination must have been affected.

Those who have been in towns afflicted with the plague, know, by experience, that many people die of nothing but fear. When a man finds himself indisposed in the least degree, he immediately fancies he is attacked by the epidemical distemper, and puts himself into so violent an agitation, that it is almost impossible he should get over it.

When I was in Paris, I was assured by the chevalier de Maisin, who was at Marseilles in the time of the plague, that he knew a woman who was literally frightened to death by a trifling illness that her servant was seized with, which she imagined to be the plague; and that this woman's daughter was so ill from the same cause, that her life was once despaired of.

There were two other persons, living in the same house, who took to their beds, and sent for a physician, upon a full conviction that they had the plague. When the physician came, he first visited the servant, and then the other patients; and finding that none of them had the contagious distemper, he endeavoured to cheer their spirits, and ordered them to rise and live as usual. But all his pains were thrown away upon the mistress of the family, who died two days after, of pure fear.

Consider now the second story of the passive vampire, and you will find the clearest symptoms of the dreadful effects of fear and prejudice. Three days after his burial, he appears by night to his son, asks for something to eat, eats it, and vanishes. Next morning, the son tells the neighbours what had happened. The night following, the father does not appear, but the night after that, the son is found dead in his bed. Never surely did a story contain more evident proofs of prejudice and fear. At the first attack which these passions make upon the supposed sufferer by vampires, they do not produce their full effect, but only dispose the mind to be more susceptible of future impressions. These impressions fail not to follow, and the effect, which may naturally be expected from them, is at last produced. It is remarkable, that the vampire did not come again the night after the son had communicated his dream to his friends, since in all probability his friends sat up with him, and prevented his giving himself up to fear.

XVI.

Causes of the fluidity of blood, and growing of the hair and nails in vampires.

Come now to those carcasses which are said to be full of fluid blood, and to have their beard, hair, and nails grow. We may safely strike off three-fourths of these wonders, and still be very complaisant in admitting the remaining part. No one of a philosophical turn can be ignorant to what a pitch every thing, that has the least extraordinary circumstance in it, is magnified by the common people, and even by some historians. However,

It is not impossible to give a physical explication of these phenomena.

We know by experience, that there are some soils of such a nature, as to preserve dead corpses entirely fresh. The reasons of this have been too often explained, to make it needful for me to enlarge upon the subject. There is at Toulouse a vault, in the monk's church, where carcases are preserved so perfect and entire, that there are some which have been buried near two centuries, and still look as if they were alive. They are placed upright against a wall, and are dressed in their usual habit. But what is most extraordinary, the corpses which are laid on the other side of the vault, are devoured by worms in two or three days.

As for the growing of the nails, hair, and beard, it is a common case with many dead bodies. As long as there remains any considerable degree of moisture, it is not to be wondered at, that those parts which do not require a supply of animal spirits, should encrease.

The fluidity of the blood, and its continuing to circulate through the channels of the body, seems to be attended with greater difficulties: but this phenomenon also may be accounted for upon physical principles. It is easy to conceive, that the solar heat may communicate warmth to the nitrous and sulphureous particles of that species of earth, which is proper for the preservation of dead bodies, and that these particles, being incorporated with the bodies lately buried, may ferment there, and liquefy and unfix the coagulated blood, so as to make it flow by degrees along the veins. And there is an experiment which contributes to confirm the truth of this opinion. If you boil, in a vessel of glass or earth, one part of chyle or common milk, mixed with two parts of oil of tartar,

the liquor will become red instead of white, by the salt of tartar's rarefying and dissolving entirely the oily part of the milk, and converting it into a sort of blood, not quite so red indeed, but of equal thickness with that which is formed in the vessels of the human body. Now, it is not impossible that, in the other case, heat may cause a fermentation, which will produce nearly the same effects as in this experiment; and we shall the more readily admit this, by reflecting, that the juices of the flesh and bones have a great resemblance with chyle, and that the fat and marrow are its most oily particles. Now all these particles should, by this experiment, be converted into a sort of blood, when they are put into a fermentation. So that vampires will be supplied with blood from the melting of their fat and grease, exclusive of that which will be liquefied and uncoagulated in their veins and arteries.

XVI.

Extracts from the Mercure Galant of 1693 and 1694, relating to vampires.

THE publick news-papers of the years 1693, and 1694, make frequent mention of upi-ers, or vampires, appearing in Poland and Russia. They are seen from noon to midnight, and suck the blood of men, or other animals, in such large quantities, that it comes out at their mouths and noses, and especially their ears; and sometimes the carcass has been known to swim in its coffin in this blood. They are said also to have a sort of hunger upon them, which makes them eat the grave-clothes that they are wrapped in. These vampires, or devils in their shape, frequently come out of their graves, and pay a visit to their relations, whom

whom they squeeze and pinch, and suck their blood, till they are reduced to the greatest weakness, and fall away gradually to their death. This persecution is not confined to one single person, but reaches to every one of the family, except it be put a stop to, by cutting off the head, or taking out the heart of the vampire, who is found in his coffin with his flesh soft, flexible, plump, and ruddy, though he has been dead for some considerable time. There generally issues from the body a great quantity of blood, which some people mix with meal, and make bread of it; and this bread being eat by the persons haunted, delivers them from the spectre, and makes him desist from his visits.

XVII.

Extract from a Dutch paper, called the Gleaner, Number IX. 1733.

THE author of the *Gleaner*, by no means a credulous writer, admits these facts, having no reason to dispute their truth. But he reasons upon them in no very serious manner, and asserts, that the people, among whom these vampires appear, are very ignorant and very credulous, and that these apparitions are nothing but the effects of a disturbed imagination. The whole, he says, is occasioned, or at least increased, by the wretched nourishment of these people, who generally eat nothing but bread made of oats, roots, or the bark of trees; which must necessarily produce very gross blood, and such as is strongly disposed to putrefy, and raise gloomy and disagreeable ideas in the imagination. He compares this disorder to the bite of a mad dog, by which the venom of the animal

is communicated to the person bit. In the same manner, the persons infected with vampirism, communicate this dangerous venom to those who come near them; and hence proceed want of sleep, unaccountable whimsies, and fancied appearances of vampires.

He conjectures that this poison is nothing but a worm, which feeds upon the purest part of the substance of the human body, and is incessantly gnawing the heart, till the persons die, and that it does not desert them even in the grave.

Thus much, however, is certain, that the bodies of those who have died by poison, or of a contagious disorder, do not stiffen after death, because the blood does not congeal in the veins, but is rarefied and tormented in the same manner, as it is described to be in vampires, whose beard, hair, and nails are said to grow; their skin to look ruddy, and their body plump, by means of the blood which swells and flows in every limb.

As for the cry which the vampires make, upon the stake's being drove through their heart, nothing is more easily accounted for. The air which is confined in their body, and expelled by violence, necessarily causes this noise in its passage through the throat. It is very common for dead bodies to make such a noise without being touched at all. Upon the whole, he concludes, that all is owing to the imagination's being disturbed by melancholy, or superstition, and so made capable of fancying, that this disorder is owing to the blood's being sucked out of the body by vampires.

He adds, that a little time before, in the year 1732, nests of vampires were also discovered in Hungary, Moravia, and Turkish Servia; that the fact is too well attested to be called in question; that

that several naturalists in Germany have writ large volumes, both in Latin and German, upon this subject; and that all the academies and universities in that country still ring with the names of Arnold Paul, Stanoska daughter of Sotuitzo, and the son of the Heyduke Millo; all notorious vampires in the canton of Medreyga in Hungary.

XVIII.

A letter upon the subject of vampires.

THAT I may omit nothing which can contribute to clear up this subject, I shall here transcribe a letter writ by a gentleman of great honour, and who has had opportunities of knowing a great deal of the matter.

You desire me to give you the best information I can, concerning those spectres which are said to come again in Hungary, and put numbers of people to death in that country. It happens to be a subject which I am well acquainted with, as I have spent several years in those parts, and have naturally a good share of curiosity.

I have heard, in my life-time, a thousand relations of facts, or pretended facts, concerning spirits and witchcraft; but out of the whole number have credited scarce one. Indeed one cannot be too circumspect in this matter, without danger of being imposed upon. Nevertheless, there are some facts so well attested, that one cannot help believing them. As for these Hungarian spectres, the thing generally happens in this manner. A man finds himself fall into a languid state, loses his appetite, decreases visibly in bulk, and, at eight or ten days end, dies without a fever, or any other symptom of illness, but loss of flesh, and a dried, withered body.

The opinion in that country is, that a vampire fastens upon the patient, and sucks his blood. And the greatest part of those that die of this disorder imagine that they see a white spectre, which always attends them like a shadow upon its respective body.

At the time when we were quartered at Temeswar in Walachia, there died of this disorder two dragoons of the company in which I was cornet, and several more who had it would have died also, if the corporal of the company had not put a stop to it, by applying a remedy commonly made use of in that country. It is of a very singular kind, and though infallibly to be depended on, I have never met with it in any Dispensatory.

They pick out a boy, whom they judge to be too young to have lost his maidenhead, and mount him bare upon a coal-black stone-horse, which has never leaped a mare. This virgin-pair is led about the church-yard, and across all the graves, and wherever the animal stops, and refuses to go on, in spite of all the whipping they can give him, they conclude they have discovered a vampire. Upon opening the grave, they find a carcass as fleshy and fair, as if the person were only in a slumber. The next step is to cut off his head with a spade, and there issues from the wound such a quantity of fresh and florid blood, that one would swear they had cut the throat of a man in full health and vigour. They then fill up the pit, and it may be depended on that the disorder will cease, and that all who were ill of it will gradually get strength, like people that recover slowly after a long illness. Accordingly this happened to our troopers, who were attacked with the distemper. I was at that time commanding officer of the troop, the captain and lieutenant being absent, and was extremely angry at the corporal for having made this experiment

ment without me. It was with great difficulty that I prevailed with myself not to reward him with a good cudgel, a thing, of which the officers of the emperor's service are usually very liberal. I would not, for the world, have been absent upon this occasion, but there was now no remedy.

XIX.

Traces of this notion of vampires in antiquity.

THERE are some traces of this opinion to be met with in the highest antiquity. Isaiah², describing the state to which Babylon should be reduced, says, that it shall become the habitation of satyrs, lamiae, and striges (in Hebrew *Lilith*); which last word means the same thing that the Latins express by *strix* and *lamia*, and signifies a witch or sorceress, which destroys young children. Hence it is a custom with the Jews to drive away these mischievous beings, by pronouncing, at the four corners of the bed where a woman is newly delivered, these words, *Adam, Eve, be gone Lilith*:

They were known to the ancient Greeks by the name of *lamia*, and the notion was that they devoured children alive, or sucked their blood till they died. Horace³ alludes to this opinion: *Non pransæ lamiae vivum puerum extrahat alva*. In some Greek translations, the word *lilith*, in Isaiah, is rendered by *lamia*. We find them described also by Euripides, and the scholiast upon Aristophanes, as pernicious monsters, and enemies to mankind. Ovid⁴ describes the striges as ravenous birds, which fly about by night, devouring the bodies, and sucking the blood of children.

² Isaiah xxxiv. 14.

³ Hor. de Art. Poet.

⁴ Ovid. Fast. l. vi.

*Capere dicuntur latentia viscera rostris.
Et plenum polo sanguine guttur habent.
Est illis strigilus nomen.*

These prejudices had taken such deep root in the barbarian world, that it was common to put persons to death, who were suspected of being *striges*, and eating people alive. Charlemagne, in the Capitularies which he composed for the use of his new Saxon subjects, orders death to be inflicted upon any one that shall accuse a man or woman of being sorcerers, (*strigas esse*) or shall burn them, or eat their flesh, or give it to others to eat. Hence it may be observed, that it was a notion, that there were people who fed upon living persons; that these people were put to death and burnt; that sometimes their flesh was eat by way of reprisals, as it is common in Russia to eat bread, kneaded up with the blood of vampires; and that at other times, it was the practice to expose them to ravenous beasts, as vampires are now frequently treated, after their bodies are impaled, or their heads cut off. In the same manner, it is forbidden by the laws of the Lombards to put another man's maid-servant to death, upon pretence of her being a witch, *striga* or *masca*. This last word, from which *mask* is derived, means the same with the Latin word *larva*, a spirit, phantom, or spectre. In the catalogue of vampires may be ranked the spectre mentioned in Sigebert's Chronicle, under the year 858.

Capitul. Caroli Magni homines comedere, & propter
pro partibus Saxonis, c. vi. hoc ipsam incenderit, vel car-
Si quis a diabolo deceptus nem ejus ad comedendum de-
crediderit, secundum morem derit, vel ipsam comederit,
paganorum, virum aliquem capitis sententiâ punietur,
aut feminam strigam esse, &

There

There appeared this year, in the diocese of Mentz, a spirit, which discovered himself at first by throwing stones, and beating against the walls of houses, as if it had been with a great mallet. He then proceeded to speak, and reveal secrets, and discovered the authors of several thefts, and other matters, likely to breed disturbances in the neighbourhood. At last he vented his malice upon one particular person, whom he was industrious in persecuting, and making odious to all the neighbours, by representing him as the cause of God's anger against the whole village. The spirit never forsook the poor man, but tormented him without intermission, burnt all his corn in the barns, and set every place on fire where he came. The priests attempted to frighten him away by exorcisms, prayers, and holy water; but the spectre answered them with a volley of stones, which wounded several of them. When the priests were gone, he was heard to bemoan himself, and say, that he was forced to take refuge in the cowl of one of the priests, who had debauched the daughter of a man of consequence in the village. He continued in this manner to infest the village for three years together, and never gave over till he had set every house in it on fire.

XX.

Another instance of an apparition, taken from St. Augustin.

THE following story has some resemblance with the accounts of vampires in Hungary, which come and foretel the death of their relations. Evodius, bishop of Ufilla in Africa, writes to St. Augustin,

Augustin, in the year 415¹, that a young man, of uncommon innocence, and purity of manners, who served him in the capacity of secretary, dying in the twenty-second year of his age, a pious widow dreamed that she saw a certain deacon, with other holy persons, of both sexes, employed in fitting up a most magnificent palace, which shone as if it had been entirely of pure silver. Upon her asking what this palace was intended for, she was told it was for the reception of the young man who died the night before. The next thing that she saw was a venerable old man, clothed in white, giving orders to two persons to fetch the young man out of his grave, and bring him up to heaven.

In the house where he died, an old man, who was half asleep, saw a person with a laurel-branch in his hand, upon which there were some characters inscribed.

A few days after the young man's death, his father, who was a priest, and named Armenius, having retired into a monastery, to console himself for his loss, with St. Theasius, bishop of Memblosa, the dead son appeared to one of the monks, and said that God had admitted him among the blessed, and had sent him to fetch his father. Four days after, Armenius was seized with a slight fever, from which his physician assured him there was no sort of danger; but he took to his bed, and immediately expired, before the physician had done speaking. It could not be the fright that killed him, for it does not appear that he knew any thing of the monk's dream.

The same Evodius reports, that several persons have been seen, after their death, going and com-

¹ Aug. *epist.* 658, & *epist.* 258, p. 361.

ing to their own houses, as usual, both by night, and at noon-day. It is also asserted, adds he, that in places where dead bodies are interred, and particularly in churches, there is frequently heard, at a certain hour of the night, a noise, like persons praying aloud. I myself, continues he, have heard it affirmed by several people, and particularly by a pious priest, who was an eye-witness of the thing, that great numbers of spirits have been seen to come out of the baptistery with shining, luminous bodies, and have been afterwards heard praying in the middle of the church. Evodius goes still further", and says, that Profuturus, Privatius, and Servilius, who lived in the same monastery with great reputation for sanctity, conversed with him after their death, and that every thing they foretold, fell out exactly.

St. Augustin having quoted Evodius for all these particulars, wisely says, that there is a wide difference between true and false visions, and wishes that he was possessed of a certain rule for making the distinction.

But how shall we arrive at the knowledge requisite for this purpose, which seems to be as difficult as it is necessary to be obtained, since we have no certain criterion whereby we can distinguish infallibly true miracles from false, or the works of God from the illusions of the devil?

• Aug. epist. 258, p. 369, 370.

XXI.

Spectres in England in the twelfth century.

WILLIAM of Newbury*, who flourished about the middle of the twelfth century, relates, that in his time a man appeared corporally in the county of Buckingham, for three nights together, to his wife, and afterwards to his other relations. The way they took to defend themselves from his frightful visits, was to sit up all night, and make a noise, when they observed that he was coming. Upon this, he appeared to several people in broad day. Hereupon the bishop of Lincoln summoned his council, and was informed that the thing was common in England; and that the only way to stop it, which they knew of, was to burn the body of the spectre. The bishop did not relish this advice, as he thought the expedient a cruel one; but he writ out a form of absolution on a scrap of paper, and ordered it to be laid on the body of the deceased, which was found to be as fresh and entire, as if it had been dead only a day; and from that time the apparition was no more heard of. The author adds, that these stories would be thought incredible, if several instances of them had not happened in his time, attested by persons of undoubted credit.

The following remarkable instance of an apparition is related by M. Daubigné. “The second prodigy, says he, I can assert upon the king’s own word, it being one of the three stories which he has frequently told us, with his hair

* Willelm. Neubrig. Rerum Anglic. l. v. c. 22.

† Daubigné, Hist. Univer.

felle, l. ii. c. 2. An. 1574. P. 719.

standings on bed. The queen happened one evening to go to bed earlier than usual, and was attended, among other persons of distinction, by the king of Navarre, the archbishop of Lyons, mesdames de Retz, de Lignerolles, and de Sauves, by two of whom I have heard this fact confirmed. As the queen was just going to dismiss them, she threw herself suddenly, with a start, upon her pillow, clapt her hands before her eyes, called out for help in the most violent manner, and pointing to the cardinal, who stood, as she said, at the foot of the bed, and held out his hand to her, cried out, "My lord cardinal, I will have nothing to do with you." The king of Navarre immediately sent one of his gentlemen to the cardinal's house, who brought word that he expired at that very instant.

The following story, which is of a very singular nature, and has some relation with the foregoing, is extracted from Sully's Memoirs, which have lately been digested into better order than formerly. It is still questioned, says the author, what that illusion could be, which was so often seen, and by so many persons, in the forest of Fontainebleau. It consisted of a spectre in a human form, and a pack of hounds, which were seen and heard barking at a distance, but the whole disappeared when any one came near it. M. de l'Ecluse, the editor of these Memoirs, joins a note, wherein he enters into a more minute detail of the affair. He observes, that M. de Perceux mentions this phantom, and makes him say with a hoarse voice, "one or other of these words: *m'attendez-vous*, or *m'entendez-vous*, or

^a Henry IV.

note 26. Octav. edit. tom. iii.

^b Sully's Memoirs, quarto, p. 321, note 26. edit. tom. i. liv. 10. p. 562.

amendex vous. And it was supposed, adds he, to be the work of some wizard, or of the devil himself. The thing is mentioned also in the journal of Henry the fourth's life, and in the *Chronologie Septenaire*, and is said to have frightened the king and his courtiers not a little. It is spoke of also by *Pierre Matthieu*, in his history of France, and by *Bongarsius*, who pretends it was a huntsman, murdered in this forest in the reign of Francis the first (*Bongar's Epist. ad Camerarium*). At present it is no more talked of; but there is a road in the forest which still retains the name of the Great Huntsman, in memory, it is said, of this apparition.

XXII.

Spectres in Peru.

TO the former instances of dead persons coming again, may be added the following, which happened in the country of the Ititans in Peru. A girl, named Catharine, who had lived a wretched life, and been guilty of several acts of sacrilege, died about the age of sixteen. Immediately after her death, her body was corrupted to such a degree, that they were forced to carry it out of the house into the open air, to get rid of the offensive smell. At the same time a yelping, like that of dogs, was heard; and a horse, which had been always very gentle, begun to fling, and prance, and kick up his heels, and try to break his halters. A young man, who was gone to lay down, was violently dragged out of bed by the arm, and a maid-servant received a kick in the shoulder,

* *Annal. Societ. Jesu*, anno 90, 91, in *Provincia Peruviana*, fol. 766.

which

which she carried the mark of for several days. All this happened before the body of the girl was buried.

Some time after, several of the neighbours saw a great quantity of tiles and bricks thrown about with a great noise, in the house where she died. The maid-servant was pulled by the foot, before her mistress and ten or twelve other women, and no one seen to touch her. The same servant going into a room to fetch some clothes, saw the deceased stooping down to lay hold of an earthen pot. The maid immediately fled; but the spectre took the vessel, threw it against the wall, and broke it in a thousand pieces. The mistress of the house running in at the noise, saw a brick-bat thrown violently against the wall. And the next day a crucifix, which was fastened in the wall, was suddenly tore out before a large company, and broke in three pieces.

XXIII.

Spectres in Lapland.

THERE are some traces of this species of spectres still to be met with in Lapland, where we are told that a great number of spirits appear to the inhabitants, and converse and eat with them, and that no effectual method can be found to keep them off. But as they fancy that these spectres are the manes of their deceased relations, the best way to put a stop to their vexatious visits, is found to be burying their bodies under the hearth, probably with a view that they may be consumed the sooner. It is an opinion among them, that manes, or disembodied souls, are generally inclined to mischief, till they have taken possession of some other body; and therefore they pay some sort of

Q

worship

worship to the spectres, or demons, who are supposed to ramble about rocks, mountains, woods, and rivers, just as the Romans paid honours to the fauns, sylvans, nymphs and tritons. But the most interesting circumstance is, that the tradition concerning deceased persons coming again, appears to have prevailed among the ancient Jews, Greeks and Romans. Afterwards it got footing in France, was current in Germany in the time of Charlemagne, in England in the twelfth century, in Lapland for a long succession of ages, and in Hungary and Moravia to this very hour.

Andrew Alciat^a tells us, that he was once consulted in the case of certain women, whom the inquisition had burnt as witches, for having killed several children by witchcraft, and having threatened to kill others, who actually died the night after, of disorders, which the physicians were utterly unacquainted with. This furnishes us with a fresh instance of *striges*, or witches, depriving human creatures of life.

XXIV.

Instance of a man's coming again, after having been dead several months.

PETER, surnamed the Venerable^c, abbot of Cluni, relates a conversation which he once had, before the bishops of Oleron and Osma in Spain, and several ecclesiasticks, with an old monk, named Peter d'Engelbert, who had lived long in the world with a great character for bravery and honour, and had retired, after the death of his wife, into the order of Cluni, when Peter the Ve-

^a Andr. Alciat. Parergon juris, l. viii. c. 22.

^c Petrus Venerab. Abb. Clun. de Miracul. l. i. f. 28. p. 1293.
nerable

nerable came to see him, Engelbert told him, that being one night in bed perfectly awake, he saw, by the light of the moon, which shone very bright, a man, named Sanchez, come into the room, whom he had sent some years before, at his own expence, to the assistance of Alfonso, king of Arragon, then engaged in a war. Sanchez returned safe from this expedition, but soon after fell ill, and died in Engelbert's house.

About four months after his death, Sanchez appeared to Engelbert in the manner above-mentioned. He was quite naked, except that a rag was thrown over his private parts. When Engelbert first discovered him, he was stirring up the embers in the chimney, as if he intended to warm himself, or in order to be sooner taken notice of. Engelbert immediately asked him who he was; he answered, with a hoarse, broken voice, I am your old servant Sanchez. And what is your business here? I am going into Castille, says he, with several others, to expiate the mischief we did during the last war, upon the very spot where the facts were committed. My crime was plundering a church, and I am condemned upon that account to take this journey. It is in your power to be very serviceable to me by your works of charity, and your wife, who still owes me eight pence of my wages, will oblige me infinitely, if she will give it to the poor in my name.

Engelbert then asked him, if he knew what was become of his old friend Peter de Fais, who died a little while before, and Sanchez told him, that he was gone to heaven. And our old countryman Bernier, what condition is he in? He is damned, says Sanchez, for having behaved ill in his office of judge, and for having oppressed and plundered the widow and the fatherless. And can you give me any intelligence, added Engelbert, of Alfonso,

king of Arragon, who has now been dead several years? At this, another spectre, which Engelbert had not yet seen, but which now appeared plainly by the light of the moon, sitting in the window, said, It is to no purpose to enquire of him for king Alfonso: he has not been long enough among us, to know any thing about him: but I, who have been dead above five years, can tell you something of him. Alfonso was with us for some time, but he was released from our quarters by the monks of Cluni; and where he is now I cannot tell: and then addressing himself to Sanchez, Come, says he, let us follow our companions, it is time to be going. Sanchez obeyed his summons, having first repeated his petition to his old master Engelbert.

When they were gone, Engelbert waked his wife, who lay by him, but had neither seen nor heard any thing of the conversation, and asked her, whether she was indebted any thing to Sanchez, who had been their servant for so many years, and was lately dead? Yes, says she, I owe him eight pence. This circumstance having fully convinced Engelbert of the truth of what Sanchez had told him, he gave the eight pence to the poor, and added a good deal of his own money, and ordered prayers and masses to be said for the deceased. At the time that this happened, Engelbert lived in the world in a married state; but when he told the story to Peter the Venerable, he was a monk at Cluni.

The abbot of Ursperg informs us, in his Chronicle, that in the year 1123, there were seen, in the district of Worms, great numbers of armed men, both on foot and on horseback, going to and fro, as if they belonged to some solemn assembly, and were observed to repair every day about

One of the seven canonical hours among the papists.

time,

time, to a certain mountain, which seemed to be their place of rendezvous. A man in the neighbourhood, who had more courage than the rest, having first fortified himself with the sign of the cross, went up to one of these armed men, and conjured him, in the name of God, to let him know what this army meant, and why they assembled in this manner. The soldier, or, if you please, the phantom, answered, We are not what you suppose us to be, either real soldiers, or real phantoms; but most of us are the souls of those who fell in a battle that was fought upon this spot some ages ago. These arms and horses, which were formerly the instruments of our sins, are now the instruments of our punishment: and though you can see nothing fiery about us, we are really all in a flame. Among others, it is said, that count Emico, who was killed a few years before, was particularly taken notice of in the company, and that he declared he might be delivered out of this state by the help of alms and prayers.

In the night which preceded the battle^{*} fought in Egypt, between Mark Antony and Cæsar, while the whole city of Alexandria was in the greatest agitation in expectation of the event, there were seen in the city a great multitude of people, crying and howling in the Bacchanalian manner, together with a confused noise of all sorts of instruments, employed in honour of Bacchus, just as Antony himself used to celebrate the feast of that god. This troop, having made a tour round the greatest part of the city, went out at the gate which led to the enemy, and then disappeared.

This is all that has reached my knowledge concerning the vampires of Hungary, Moravia, Silesia

^{*} Plutarch. in Anton.

and Poland; as also concerning the coming again of deceased persons in France and Germany. I shall hereafter deliver my sentiments upon the reality of the facts, and the other circumstances attending these redivivi.

Those which follow are of another species, but equally miraculous. I mean the accounts of excommunicated persons coming out of their graves, and quitting the church, till the sacrifice of the mass is finished, and then returning again.

XXV.

Of excommunicated corpses going out of the church.

ST. Gregory the Greatⁱ has recorded a story of two nuns, who being threatened with excommunication by St. Benedict, died in this state. Some time after, they were seen, by their nurse, going out of the church, as soon as the deacon had pronounced the words, *Let all, who do not communicate, retire.* The nurse having informed the saint of what she had seen, he sent an oblation, or piece of bread, to be offered for them, in token of reconciliation, and from that time they rested in their graves in peace.

We are told by St. Augustin^k, that it was the custom to recite, in the diptychs, the names of the martyrs and deceased holy virgins. *Perhibet præclarissimum testimonium ecclesiastica autoritas, in quâ fidelibus notum est quo loco martyres, & quo defunctæ sanctimoniales ad altaris sacramenta recitantur.* It is probable, therefore, that when they were named at the altar, they went out of the church.

ⁱ Greg. l. ii. Dialog. c. 23.

^k St. August. de Sta. Virg. c. xlv. p. 364.

XXVI. *Instances*

XXVI.

Instances of the best's being buried with dead bodies.

A Young ecclesiastick, who belonged to St. Benedict¹, having left the monastery without leave, and without receiving the holy abbot's blessing, happened to die in this state of disobedience, and was buried. Next morning his body was found thrown out of the grave, and his relations laid the affair before St. Benedict, who gave them a consecrated wafer, and ordered them to lay it, with all reverence, upon the young monk's breast. The command being executed, the earth suffered him afterwards to rest in peace. This usage, or rather this abuse, of putting the holy eucharist into the grave with dead bodies, is of a very singular nature, but not unknown to antiquity. The author, who writ the life of St. Basil the Great^m, by the name of St. Amphilochius, says, that St. Basil reserved the third part of a consecrated host, in order to be buried with him. At the time of his death he received it, and expired with it in his mouth. But before this time, the practice had been condemned by several councils, and has been since disapproved by others, as contrary to our Saviour's original institution.

Notwithstanding this prohibition, it has been the practice, in some places, to put hosts into the graves of persons eminent for piety, as was done in the grave of St. Omer, abbot of St. Galⁿ, where

¹ Greg. I. ii. Dialog. c. 24.

^m Amphiloch. in Vita Basi-

lij. Vide Balsamon. ad Can.

83. Concil. in Trullo. Conc.

Carthag. iii. c. vi. Hippon.

c. v. Antissiodor. c. xii, Conc.

in Trullo, c. lxxxiii.

ⁿ Vita S. Otmari, c. iii.

they found several small round pieces of bread, which were not doubted to be consecrated hosts. In the life of St. Cuthbert, bishop of Lindisfarn^o, we read, that there were found under his breast a great number of hosts. Amalarius reports of venerable Bede^p, that an host was laid upon his breast before he was buried. *Oblatâ super sanctum postus posita.* This particular is not to be met with in the history of Bede, but in the second life of St. Cuthbert. Amalarius observes, that the English undoubtedly derived this custom from the church of Rome: and father Menard^q maintains, that it is not this custom which is condemned by the councils, but the custom of giving the communion to dead persons, by putting it into their mouths. Whatever becomes of this practice, it is certain, that cardinal Humbert^r, in his answer to the objections of the patriarch Michael Cerularius, reproaches the Greeks with burying the holy eucharist, when any part of it remained after the faithful had communicated.

XXVII.

More instances of excommunicated corpses cast up out of holy ground.

WITH regard to the case of excommunicated persons, said to be cast up by the earth, we meet with several examples of it in history. We are told, for instance, in the life of St. Go-

^p Vita S. Cuthberti, l. iv. & ii. apud Bolland. 26 Martii.

^r Amalar. de Offic. Eccles. l. iv. c. 41.

^q Menard. Not. in Sacram. S. Greg. Mag. p. 484, 485.

^r Humbert. Cardinal. Biblioth. Patrum. l. xviii. & t. iv. Concil.

thard, bishop of Hildesheim^{*}, that certain persons, whom he had excommunicated for rebellion, and other crimes, came obstinately to church, and stayed there during divine service, notwithstanding his prohibition; while the very dead, who had been buried there a great number of years, and were not known to be excommunicated, came out of their graves, with the greatest reverence, and quitted the church. When mass was over, the saint, addressing himself to the rebellious crew, reproached them with their hardness of heart, and assured them, that these dead persons would certainly rise up in judgment against them. At the same time, he went to the church door, and gave absolution to those modest carcases, with a permission to come into the church again, and rest quietly in their graves. This life of St. Gothard was writ by one of his disciples, a canon in his cathedral. The saint died on the 4th of May, in the year 938.

In the second council of Limoges, held in the year 1031[†], consisting of a great number of bishops, abbots, priests, and deacons, were recited the instances just mentioned of St. Benedict, to shew the respect which ought to be had to sentences of excommunication, pronounced by ecclesiastical superiors: and the bishop of Cahors, who was then present, took this opportunity of relating a thing, which had happened to himself a little while before. “A knight of my diocese, says he, being
 “killed in a state of excommunication, I refused
 “to comply with the request of his friends, who
 “solicited me earnestly to give him absolution.
 “My resolution was to make an example of him,

^{*} Vita S. Gothardi, Sæcul. vi. Bened. part. i. p. 434.

[†] Tom. ix. Concil. p. 902. Anno 1031.

“ in order to strike terror into others. Notwith-
 “ standing this, he was buried in a church dedi-
 “ cated to St. Peter, by some soldiers, or knights,
 “ (*militēs*) without any ecclesiastical ceremony,
 “ without any leave, and without the assistance of
 “ any priest. The next morning his body was
 “ found out of the ground, and thrown naked at
 “ some distance from the grave, perfectly entire,
 “ and without any token of its having been touch-
 “ ed. The soldiers who buried him having open-
 “ ed the grave, found nothing but the linnen
 “ which had been wrapped about his body. They
 “ then buried him afresh, and covered the grave
 “ with an enormous quantity of earth and stones.
 “ The next day the corpse was found out of the
 “ grave again, and no symptom of any one’s
 “ having been at work. The same thing was re-
 “ peated five several times, and at last they buried
 “ him, as they could, in unconsecrated ground,
 “ at a distance from the church-yard. The neigh-
 “ bouring gentlemen were so struck with this re-
 “ markable event, that they came to me in a body
 “ to make overtures of peace.” This fact seems
 to be accompanied with all the circumstances which
 can contribute to make it probable.

XXVIII.

*Instance of an excommunicated martyr thrown out of
 the ground.*

IT is recorded in the *Mémoires des Grecs*, of the
 15th of October, that an ecclesiastick of Scheti
 being excommunicated by his superior, for some
 act of disobedience, quitted the desert, and came
 to Alexandria, where he was apprehended by the
 governor of the city, stripped of his religious habit,
 and

and strongly solicited to sacrifice to the idols of the place. The man bravely resisted the temptation, and was tortured several ways, till at last they cut off his head, and threw his body out of the city, to be devoured by dogs. The next night it was carried away by the Christians, who having embalmed and wrapped it up in fine linnen, interred it in an honourable part of the church, with all the respect due to the remains of a martyr.

But, at the next celebration of the mass, upon the deacon's crying out aloud, as usual, *Let the catechumens, and all who do not communicate, retire,* his grave instantly opened, and the martyr retired into the church-porch. When mass was over, he came again of his own accord into his grave. Not long after, it was revealed by an angel to a holy person, who had continued three days in prayer, that the deceased ecclesiastick had been excommunicated by his superior, and would continue bound, till that same superior had reversed the sentence. Upon this, a messenger was dispatched to the desert after the holy anchorite, who ordered the grave to be opened, and absolved the deceased, who after this continued in his grave in peace.

XXIX.

Observations upon this story.

I Have a variety of reasons for suspecting the truth of this relation. First, at the time when the desert of Scheti was inhabited, there were no persecutors at Alexandria. No one was disturbed there, either for his Christian or monastick profession. Idolaters and heathens were at that time in greater danger of being molested, as Christianity flourished, and was respected all over Egypt, and particularly

particularly at Alexandria. Secondly, the ecclesiasticks of Scheti were rather hermits than cenobites, and one of them had no authority to excommunicate another. Thirdly, it does not appear, that the person in question had done any thing to deserve excommunication, at least of that heavier kind which hinders a person from coming to church, and partaking in the communion. The Greek text says only, "that he continued in obedience to his spiritual father for some time, but afterwards fell into disobedience, and left the monastery without any lawful cause, and went to Alexandria." If this ecclesiastick quitted his profession, and left the monastery to live a secular life, it was unquestionably a crime, which deserves the heaviest species of excommunication. But the ecclesiasticks of those days were not tied up to perpetual obedience as they are now, and their superiors had no right to inflict on them the greater excommunication: but of this I shall speak more hereafter.

XXX.

A man cast out of the church for having refused to pay his tithes.

WE are informed by John Bromton, abbot of Sornat in England, that it is recorded in some very ancient histories, that St. Augustin, the English apostle, having endeavoured to prevail upon a gentleman to pay tithes, it pleased God that, upon the saint's calling out, before he begun

Joh. Bromton. Chronic. Vide & Rolland. ad Diem 26 Maii, p. 396.

mass,

mass, *Let no excommunicated person be present at this holy sacrifice*, there was immediately seen to come out of his grave, and quit the church, a man who had been buried above 150 years. When mass was ended, St. Augustin, with the cross carried before him, went to question this man, why he went out of the church, and was answered, because he died excommunicated. The saint then asked him, where the priest, who had pronounced the sentence against him, was buried; and being shewn the place, ordered the priest to rise. The priest obeyed the summons, and said he had excommunicated the man for several crimes, and particularly for his obstinacy in refusing to pay his tithes; but, at St. Augustin's command, he gave him absolution, and the dead man returned to his grave. The priest then desired the saint to grant him the same permission, and it was indulged him. This story seems to me equally suspicious with the former. In the days of St. Augustin, who preached the Gospel in England, the obligation of paying tithes was not imposed upon pain of excommunication, and still less one hundred and fifty years before.

XXXI.

Instances of persons who have shewn signs of life after death, and have reverently got out of the way, to make room for others of greater worth.

THE following story is told by Tertullian*, who says he was a witness of it himself: *de meo didici*. A woman, who had been given to a certain church for a slave, died in the prime of life, having been once married. Before she was

* Tertull. de Animâ, c. li. p. 597. Edit. Pamelii.

put into the ground, when the priest was offering up the sacrifice, and lifting up his hands at the prayers, this woman, whose hands were extended by her sides, lifted them up at the same time in a suppliant posture, and after the blessing was pronounced, replaced them in their former position. Tertullian adds, that a dead body, in the church-yard, retired on one side, to make room for another body which they were going to bury by it. He relates these stories, after having mentioned the opinion of Plato and Democritus, that the souls of the deceased remain for some time about the body, and that they sometimes preserve it from putrefaction, and make its hair, beard, and nails, grow in the grave. Tertullian dissents from this opinion, and even refutes it tolerably well. But he owns, that the facts which I have mentioned seem to favour this notion, which prevailed also among the Hebrews, as we have seen above.

We are told, that after the death of the famous Abelard¹, who was buried in the monastery of Paraclete, Eloisa, his wife, dying not long after, and being buried, at her own request, in the same grave, Abelard stretched out his arms, and received her into his bosom: *elevatis brachiis illam recepit, Et ita eam amplexatus brachia sua strinxit*. But this fact is by no means certain, or even probable; and the Chronicle, where it is recorded, took it, I suppose, from some popular rumour.

In the life of St. John the Almoner², which was writ soon after his death, by Leontius, bishop of Neapolis, in the island of Cyprus, we read, that St. John died at Amathus in that island, and was buried between two bishops, who, in the pre-

¹ Chronic. Turon. in Operibus Abelardi, p. 1195.

² Bolland. t. ii. p. 315. 23 Januar.

fence of all the people, withdrew on each side, to make room for him in the middle. *Non unus, neque decem, neque centum viderunt, sed omnis turba, quæ convenit ad ejus sepulturam*, says the author. The same fact is also related by Metaphrastes, who writ the life of this saint in Greek.

XXXII.

A man that went upon a pilgrimage after death.

A Scholar of the town of St. Pons, near Narbonne^a, dying in excommunication, appeared to one of his friends, and desired him to go to Rhodes, to obtain absolution for him of the bishop. The man set out upon his journey in a very snowy season, and was attended by the spirit, who shewed him the way, and cleared the road of snow. When he came to Rhodes, he applied to the bishop, and obtained the absolution he wanted, and was conducted back again to St. Pons by the spirit, who, at taking leave, thanked him for the trouble he had taken, and promised to take some opportunity of testifying his gratitude.

XXXIII.

Another instance of several persons being accompanied in a pilgrimage by the deceased, for whose sake they undertook it.

THE following letter was sent me on the 5th of April 1745, and has some relation to the subject before us.

^a Melchior. Lib. de Statu Mortuor.

There

There has lately happened in these parts, a thing relating to your Dissertation upon Spectres, which I think it my duty to communicate to you. A man, who lives at Letraye, a village at a few leagues distance from Remiremont, lost his wife the beginning of last February, and was married again the week before Lent. At eleven o'clock in the evening, on the wedding-day, the former wife appeared to the bride, and the result of their conversation was, that the bride engaged herself to perform seven pilgrimages upon the old wife's score. From that time, the deceased appeared regularly at the same hour, and spoke in the presence of the minister of the parish, and several other persons.

On the 15th of March, just as the bride was preparing to set out for St. Nicholas's church, she received a visit from the deceased, who bid her make haste, and not be deterred by the difficulties she would meet with on the road. The company then set out on their journey, consisting of the bride, her husband, brother-in-law, and sister-in-law, little thinking that the deceased would make one; but she did not leave them till they came to the church-door.

When they were got within two leagues of St. Nicholas, they took up their lodging at an inn called *the Barracks*; where the bride found herself so ill, that the two men were obliged to carry her hither; and as soon as she came to the church door, she walked with great ease, and felt no more pain. This story was told to me and the vestry-keeper, by all the four persons, who added, that the last thing which the deceased said, was, that the bride should neither see nor hear any thing more of her till she had finished half her journies. The plain and natural manner, in which these good people

people told me the story, convinces me that it may be depended on for truth.

It is not said that this woman died in excommunication; but she was in all appearance bound by some vow or promise to perform these pilgrimages, which she turned over to her successor. Accordingly we find, that she did not go into the church, but accompanied the pilgrims no farther than the door.

XXXIV.

Instance of a saint's coming out of his grave, to avoid the company of the wicked.

IF the earth has been sometimes known to throw up excommunicated persons, there are also instances of saints coming out of the ground, to get rid of the company of the wicked, or even people of less merit than themselves. Evagrius of Pontus^b, tells a story of a holy hermit, named Thomas, surnamed *Salus*, from his counterfeiting an idiot, who died in the hospital of Daphne near Antioch, and was buried in the place appropriated to strangers; but was every day found cast out of the ground, at a distance from the other dead bodies, which seemed to be pushed away from him. The inhabitants laid the affair before Ephrom, bishop of Antioch, who ordered him to be carried into the city in a solemn manner, and honourably interred in the church-yard; and from that time the people of Antioch celebrate the feast of his translation every year. The same fact is related by Johannes Moschus^c, only with this difference,

^b Evagr. Pont. l. iv c. 35.

^c Johan. Mosch. Præf. Spirit. c. lxxxviii.

that he says they were some women buried near Thomas Salus, which came out of their graves, out of respect to the saint.

XXXV.

Appeal from an unjust excommunication.

POPE Clement V, having excommunicated Walter, bishop of Poitiers, the bishop thinking the sentence unjust, appealed to the tribunal of God, and at his death ordered the instrument of appeal to be put into his hands, and buried with him. Some time after, the Pope came to the convent of Minor Friars at Poitiers, where Walter was buried, and in the night-time ordered the grave to be opened, and bad his archdeacon take the instrument, by force, out of the hands of the deceased: but the archdeacon could not possibly do it, till the pope had given a solemn promise to return the paper after he had read it. The dead man then lifted up his hand, and gave the paper. While the pope was reading it, the archdeacon felt himself fastened down, as it were, to the grave, by some invisible power, till the pope had restored the paper, and it was put again into the dead man's hand. The history of this event was recorded in the year 1329^d, upon the evidence of a gentleman who was a witness of the fact.

* Vide Gallia Christiana, t. lii. Instrum. xxi. p. 340.

XXXVI. Rr-

XXXVI.

*Reflections upon the case of excommunicated persons
going out of churches.*

THERE is something in all these accounts of excommunicated persons, which have been seen to come out of their graves during the celebration of mass, and to return to them again after the sacrifice was over. which deserves a particular attention. It seems to me, that an event, which happened before a whole congregation, assembled in open day, and in the midst of the most august ceremony of our religion, cannot be denied, or even disputed. And yet we may fairly ask, how these bodies came out of their graves; were they found or rotten, naked or clothed, in their usual dress, or in their grave-clothes; and whither they went?

The cause of their coming out is clearly assigned; namely, the greater excommunication. Now as this punishment is never inflicted, but in case of mortal sin*, these persons consequently died in this state, and of course were damned, and went to hell. For if it were only the common lesser excommunication, I do not see the necessity of their going out of the church with so many extraordinary circumstances of terror, since this species of excommunication does not absolutely prohibit persons from communicating with the faithful, or from coming into a church.

If we have recourse to the distinction between *culpa* and *pæna*, guilt and punishment, and say, that though the former was remitted, the latter

* Concil. Meld. in Can. Thom. in 4 Dist. 18, 9, 2, a. Nemo, 4^o, 11, 4, 3. D. 1. Quæstiuncula in Corp. &c.

was not, and that the persons under sentence were deprived of the communion of the church, till they were legally absolved by an ecclesiastical judge, the difficulty to be removed is, Whether a dead person can be absolved, and restored to ecclesiastical communion, unless some satisfactory marks of repentance and conversion have preceded that person's death?

Besides, in the instances above-mentioned, there is no reason to suppose, that the persons were free from *guilt*. It is pretty clear, from the authors there quoted, that they died in their sins. And particularly St. Gregory the Great, in his answer to Peter, the other speaker in the dialogue, evidently supposes that the two nuns died in an impenitent state.

Besides, it is a standing maxim in the church, that where no communion has been had with persons in their life-time, there can be none after their death. *Quibus viventibus non communicavimus, mortuis communicare non possumus*, says the pope St. Leoⁱ. Notwithstanding this, it is allowed, that an excommunicated person, who has given tokens of sincere repentance, but has not had time to make a confession in form, may be reconciled to the church^s after death, and admitted to Christian burial. But, in general, before a person can be absolved from the guilt of sin, the ecclesiastical sentence of excommunication, wherever it is incurred, must be taken off. *Absolutio ab excommunicatione debet præcedere absolutionem à peccatis; quia quamdiu aliquis est excommunicatus non potest recipere aliquod Ecclesiæ Sacramentum*, says St. Thomas^b.

ⁱ S. Leo Can. Commun.
^s 24, 4, 2, & Clemen. iii. in
Cap. Sacrif. 12. de Sepulturis
Eccles.

^s Eveillon. Traité des Ex-

communic. & Monitoires. c. iv.

^b D. Thom. in 4 Distin. 9.
qui 1. art. 3. Quæstiunc. 2.
ad 2.

According

According to this decision, these persons must have been absolved from their excommunication, before they could be absolved from their sin. On the contrary, they are here represented to be absolved from their guilt, in order to be made capable of absolution from the censures of the church.

I own I cannot discover how we shall get rid of the following difficulties. 1. How a dead person can receive absolution? 2. How an absolution from excommunication can precede an absolution from guilt? 3. How absolution can be given, without the person's desiring it, or giving any proofs of desiring it? 4. How absolution can be given to persons who died in mortal sin, and without having done penance? 5. For what reasons these excommunicated persons return to their graves again, after mass is over? 6. If they durst not stay in the church while mass was celebrating, were they more worthy before, than after the sacrifice?

It seems evident, that the two nuns, and the young ecclesiastic, mentioned by S. Gregory, died in their sins, and without having received absolution. It is probable that St. Benedict was not a priest, and therefore had not absolved them. It may be said, that the excommunication, mentioned by St. Gregory, was not of the greater sort; and in this case the good abbot might have absolved them. But then was this common lesser excommunication of consequence enough to make them go out of the church in so wonderful and astonishing a manner? The persons excommunicated by St. Gothard, and the gentleman mentioned at the council of Limoges in 1031, died in a state of impenitence and excommunication, and consequently in mortal sin; and yet they were absolved and re-admitted, even after their deaths, at the bare request of their friends.

The young hermit, mentioned in the *Menées des Grecs*, left his cell in disobedience to his superior, and was excommunicated. In this case, was he capable of receiving the crown of martyrdom? If he were, was he not at the same time reconciled to the church, and did not he wash away his fault with his blood? And if his excommunication was only of the lesser kind, did he deserve to be still excluded, notwithstanding his martyrdom, from being present at the sacred mysteries?

Supposing the facts to have happened as they are related, I can think of no other method of clearing up these difficulties, but by supposing that history has not preserved all the circumstances which made these persons deserve absolution; for it is to be presumed that the saints, and especially the bishops that absolved them, were acquainted with the rules of the church, and acted in every respect regularly, and according to the canons.

From all that has been said upon this head, there results one important truth, that as the bodies of the wicked retire from among the saints, out of respect and a sense of their own unworthiness, so the bodies of the saints withdraw from the society of the wicked for opposite reasons, viz. that they may not appear to have any connection with them, even after death, or to approve their wicked life. Farther, if what is above related be true, the good, even the saints, shew great deference and respect to one another in the other life.

We shall soon see some instances which seem to invalidate those arguments for a person's sanctity which are drawn from his body's not corrupting, since it is asserted, that the bodies of excommunicated persons do not rot in the earth till the sentence be taken off.

XXXVII.

Whether excommunicated bodies rot in their graves?

THE notion that the bodies of excommunicated persons are preserved from corruption, appears to have been a very old one, from the life of St. Libentius¹, archbishop of Bremen, who died the 4th of January 1013. This prelate having excommunicated a gang of pirates, one of them died, and was buried in Norway. Seventy years after, his body was found quite entire and uncorrupted, and did not fall to ashes till it had received absolution from the bishop Alvareda:

It is asserted by the modern Greeks, in defence of their schism, and as a proof that the gift of miracles, and the episcopal power of the keys, subsists in their church more visibly and evidently than in the church of Rome, that, with them, the bodies of excommunicated persons never rot, but swell up to an uncommon size, and are stretched, like drums, nor ever corrupt or fall to dust, till they have received absolution from some bishop or priest. And they produce many instances of carcases which have been found in their graves uncorrupted, and which have afterwards putrefied, as soon as the excommunication was taken off.

They do not, however, deny, that a body's not corrupting is sometimes a proof of sanctity², but in this case they expect it to send forth an agreeable smell, to be white or ruddy, and not black, stinking, and swelled like a drum, as the bodies of excommunicated persons generally are.

¹ Sæcul. 6. Benedic. Part. i. p. 131.

² Goar. Not. in Eucholog. p. 682.

XXXVIII.

Instances of excommunicated bodies not putrefying.

WE are told¹, that in the time of Manuel, or Maximus, patriarch of Constantinople, the Turkish emperor having a mind to know the truth of the Greek notion concerning the incorruption of excommunicated bodies, the patriarch ordered the grave of a woman, who had lived in a criminal commerce with an archbishop of Constantinople, to be opened. Her body being found entire, black and much swelled, the Turks put it into a chest, under the emperor's seal; and the patriarch having repeated a prayer, and given absolution to the deceased, the chest was opened three days after, and the body was found reduced to ashes. In this case, however, I see nothing miraculous. It is well known, that bodies are sometimes found entire in their graves, and that upon being exposed to the air, they immediately fall to dust. I except those that are carefully embalmed, like the mummies in Egypt, and those that are buried in extremely dry places, or in a soil impregnated with nitre and salt, which soon dries up all moisture in the carcases both of men and other animals. But I cannot comprehend, how an archbishop of Constantinople could legally give absolution after death to a person that died in mortal sin, and under the sentence of excommunication.

¹ Vide Malux. l. i. Turcogræc. p. 26, 27.

XXXIX.

Of excommunicated persons appearing to the living.

IT is also a notion which prevails among the Greeks^m, that the bodies of these excommunicated persons frequently appear to the living, both by day and night, and speak to them, call upon them, and disturb them several other ways.

Leo Allatius is very particular upon this head, and says, that in the isle of Chio, the inhabitants never answer the first time they are called, for fear of its being a spectre; but if they are called twice, they are sure it is not a *Broucolack*ⁿ, (this is the name they give these spirits.) If any one appears at the first call, the spectre disappears, but the person certainly dies.

They have no way to get rid of these evil genii, but to dig up the body of the person that has appeared, and burn it, after having repeated over it certain prayers. By this means the body being reduced to ashes, appears no more. And they look upon it as a clear case, that either these mischievous and spiteful carcasses come out of their graves of their own accord, and occasion the death of the persons that see or speak to them; or that the devil himself makes use of these bodies to frighten and destroy mankind. They have hitherto discovered no remedy which more infallibly rids them of these plagues, than to burn or mangle the bodies which are made use of for these cursed purposes. Sometimes the end is answered by

^m Vide Bolland. Aug. t. i. p. 201, 202, 203, &c. Leo. Allat. Epist. ad Zachiam. p. 12, &c.

ⁿ Βρουκολακος; derived from βρυκος or βρυηκος, sinking, corrupted slime, and λακος, a ditch, a pit.

tearing out the heart, and letting the bodies rot above ground before they bury them again, or by cutting off the head, or driving a large nail through the temples.

XL.

Instances of excommunicated persons coming again.

SIR Paul Rycaut, in his history of the present state of the Greek church*, observes, that the opinion that excommunicated bodies are preserved from putrefaction, prevails generally, not only among the Greeks, but also among the Turks; and he gives us a fact which he had from a Caloyer of Candia, who confirmed it to him upon oath. The caloyer's name was Sophronius, a man well known and respected at Smyrna.

There died in the island of Milo, a man, who was excommunicated for a fault which he had committed in the Morea, and he was buried in a private place, without any ceremonies, and in unconsecrated ground. His relations and friends expressed great dissatisfaction at his being treated in this manner, and very soon after the inhabitants of the island were tormented every night by frightful apparitions, which they attributed to this unhappy man. Upon opening the grave, his body was found entire, and his veins swelled with blood; and a consultation being held upon the subject, the caloyers advised dismembring his body, cutting it in pieces, and boiling it in wine, which, it seems, is the usual manner of proceeding there in those cases.

However, the friends of the deceased prevailed upon them, by dint of intreaty, to delay the exe-

* Rycaut's State of the Greek Church, c. xiii. p. 282.

cution, and in the mean time sent to Constantino-
ple to get absolution for him from the patriarch.
Till the messenger could return, the body was laid
in the church, and prayers and masses were said
daily for the repose of his soul. One day while
Sophronius, the caloyer above-mentioned, was
performing the service, there was heard on a sud-
den a great noise in the coffin; and upon exami-
nation, the body was found reduced to ashes, as
if it had been dead seven years. Particular notice
was taken of the time when the noise was heard,
and it was found to be the very moment when
the absolution was signed by the patriarch. Sir
Paul Rycaut, who has recorded this event, was
neither a Greek nor Roman Catholick, but a stanch
Protestant of the church of England.

He observes upon this occasion, that the notion
among the Greeks is, that an evil spirit enters
into the excommunicated carcass, and preserves it
from corruption, by performing the usual func-
tions of the human soul in a living body^p. They
fancy moreover, that these corpses eat by night,
and actually digest, and are nourished by their
food: that several have been found of a fresh,
ruddy colour, with their veins ready to burst with
blood, full forty days after their death, and that
upon being opened, there has issued from them
as large a quantity of warm fresh blood, as would
come from a young person of the most sanguine
constitution. And this opinion prevails so univer-
sally, that every one is furnished with a story to
this purpose.

Father Theophilus Raynard^q, author of a par-
ticular treatise upon this subject, asserts, that this

^p See François Richard
Hist. de l'Isle de Sts. Irene,
c. xv. 18.

^q Theop. Raynald, t. xiii.
Opus. init. Vit. c. vii. p. 51,
52.

coming again of deceased persons is an undoubted truth, and supported by unquestionable facts. But to pretend that these spectres are always excommunicated persons, and that the schismatical church of Greece has a privilege of preserving from putrefaction the bodies of those that die under her sentence, is what cannot be maintained; since it is certain, that excommunicated bodies rot as well as others, and that several who have died in the communion of the church, Greek as well as Roman, have continued uncorrupted. There have even been instances of this nature among the heathens, and frequently among other animals, whose carcasses have been found unputrefied in the ground, and among the ruins of old buildings. Whoever will examine more accurately into this matter, may consult father Goard's *Rituel des Grecs*, p. 687, 688. Matthew Paris's *History of England*, t. ii. p. 687. Adam of Bremen, c. lxxv. Albert of Stade, under the year 1050; and M. Ducange, *Glossar. Latinit.* at the word *Imblectus*.

XLI.

A Broucolack dug up in presence of M. de Tournefort.

M. De Tournefort has given, in his travels, an account of the digging up an imaginary *Broucolack* in the island of Mycone, where he was on the 1st of January 1701. His words are as follow^r. We were present at a very different scene in the same island, upon occasion of one of those dead corpses, which they suppose to come to life again after their burial. The man, whose

^r Tournefort, *Voyage du Levant*, t. i. p. 52, 53. Edit. Amsterdam, 1718, in Quarto.

story I am going to relate, was a peasant of Mycone, naturally ill-natured and quarrelsome (a circumstance of consequence in such cases :) he was murdered in the fields, no body knew how, or by whom.

Two days after his being buried in a chapel in the town, it was noised about, that he was seen in the night walking about in a great hurry; that he came into houses, and tumbled about their goods, griped people behind, and played a thousand little monkey tricks. At first it was only laughed at, but it soon grew to be a serious affair, when the better sort of people joined in the complaint. The Papas themselves gave credit to it, and no doubt had their reasons for so doing. Masses, to be sure, were said, but the peasant was incorrigible, and continued his old trade. After several meetings of the chief people of the town, and of the priests and monks, it was concluded to be necessary, in obedience to some old ceremonial, to wait till nine days after the burial.

On the tenth day, a mass was said in the chapel where the body lay, in order to drive out the devil, which was imagined to have taken possession of it. When the mass was over, the body was taken up, and preparations were made for pulling out its heart. The butcher of the town, an old clumsy fellow, began with opening the belly instead of the breast. He groped a long while among the entrails, without finding what he looked for, till at last somebody said he should cut up the diaphragm; and then the heart was pulled out, to the admiration of the spectators. In the mean time, the carcass stunk so abominably, that they were obliged to burn frankincense; but the smoke mixing with the fumes of the corpse, increased the stink, and began to heat the poor people's brains. Their imagination, already affected with
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the Spectacle before them, grew full of whimsies, and they took it into their heads, that a thick smoke came from the body; nor durst we say that it was only the smoke of the incense.

In the chapel, and the square before it, they were incessantly bawling out *Broucolack*, which is the name they give to these pretended *redivivi*. From hence the bellowing was communicated to the streets, and seemed to be invented on purpose to split the roof of the chapel. Several there present averred, that the blood of the offender was red, and the butcher swore that the body was still warm; whence they concluded, that the deceased was guilty of a heavy crime for not being thoroughly dead, or rather for suffering himself to be re-animated by the devil, which is the notion they have of a *Broucolack*. They then roared out that word in a stupendous manner. Just at this time there came in a flock of people, who loudly protested, that they plainly saw the body was not grown stiff, when it was carried from the fields to the church to be buried, and that consequently it was a true *Broucolack*; which word continued to be the burden of the song.

I question not but they would have sworn it did not stink, if we had not been there, so thoroughly were their heads turned upon this occasion, and so strongly were they infatuated with the notion of these spectres. As for us, we got as close to the body as we could, that we might observe what passed more exactly, and were almost poisoned with its stink. When they asked us what we thought of the corps, we told them we believed it to be compleatly dead; and having a mind to cure, or, at least, not to exasperate their prejudices, we represented to them, that it was no wonder the butcher should feel some warmth, by groping in the entrails, which were then putrefying; that

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it was no extraordinary thing for it to emit fumes, since the same will happen upon turning up a dunghill, and that as for the pretended redness of the blood, it was still visible, by the butcher's hands, that it was a mere stinking nasty smear.

After all our reasoning, they resolved upon going to the sea-shore, and there burning the dead man's heart. But, notwithstanding this execution, he did not grow more peaceable, but made more noise than ever. He was accused of beating people in the night, breaking down doors, and even roofs of houses, shattering windows, tearing clothes, and emptying casks and bottles. It was a ghost of a very thirsty constitution; nor do I believe that he spared any house but the consul's, where we lodged. In the mean time, nothing could be more deplorable than the condition of this island. Not a head in it but was turned: the wisest among them were seized like the rest. In short, it was a real disorder of the brain, as dangerous as lunacy or madness. Whole families quitted their houses, and brought their beds from the remotest parts of the town into the great square, there to spend the night. Every one complained of some fresh insult, and nothing could be heard but groans at the approach of night. The most sensible people among them thought proper to retire into the country.

When the prepossession was so general, we thought it our best way to hold our tongues. Had we opposed it, we should have been treated not only as fools, but as infidels. Indeed, how was it possible to bring a whole nation to its senses? Those who believed in their hearts that we doubted the truth of the fact, came and reproached us with our incredulity, and endeavoured to prove that there were such things as *Broucolacks*, by quotations out of the *Buckler of Faith*, written by father Richard,

a Jesuit missionary. Their argument was this: He was a Latin, and therefore you ought to believe him; nor should we have got any thing by denying the consequence. We were entertained every morning with a recital of the new pranks of this night-bird, who was even charged with being guilty of the most abominable sins.

Some of the citizens, who were most zealous for the publick good, took it into their heads that there had been a defect in the most essential part of the ceremony. They were of opinion, that mass ought not to have been said, till after the heart had been pulled out. With this precaution, they insisted that the devil must needs have been worsted, and would not have ventured to come again; whereas, by mass being said first, he had time enough given him to make off, and return to his post when the danger was over.

After all these wise reflections, they were as much perplexed as at first setting out. They meet night and morning, debate, and make processions for three days and three nights. The Papas are obliged to fast, and run from house to house with sprinklers in their hands. Holy water is plentifully scattered about, even to the washing of the doors, and filling the mouth of the poor Broucolack.

We repeated it so often to the magistrates, that we should not fail in Christendom to appoint a watch by night upon such an occasion, in order to observe what passed in the town, that at last they apprehended some vagabonds, who had certainly a hand in these disorders; but either they were not the principal agents, or they were dismissed too soon. For two days after, to make themselves amends for the fast they had kept in prison, they begun to empty the wine casks of such as had been silly enough to leave their houses in the night,
so

so that nothing was left but to have recourse again to prayers.

One day, as they were repeating a certain form, after having stuck a number of naked swords in the grave where the carcass lay, (which they dug up three or four times a day to gratify the whim of whoever came by) an Albanian, who happened to be at Mycone, took upon him to pronounce with an air of great wisdom, that it was ridiculous to make use of the swords of Christians in such a case as this. Are you so blind, says he, as not to see that the hilt of these swords, being made in the form of a cross, hinders the devil from coming out of the carcass? I am surprised that you do not take the Turkish sabres. But the expedient of this wise personage had no effect: the *Broucolack* was still unruly; the whole island continued in a strange consternation, and they were utterly at a loss what saint to invoke, when all on a sudden, as if they had given one another the word, they began to bawl all over the city, that they had waited too long, that the *Broucolack* should be burned to ashes, and then they defied the devil to harbour there any longer, and that it was better to have recourse to this extremity, than to have the island totally deserted. For, in fact, several whole families had begun to pack up, in order to retire to Syra or Tinos.

The magistrates, therefore, gave orders to carry the *Broucolack* to the point of St. George's island, where they got ready a great pile, with pitch and tar, for fear the wood should not burn fast enough of itself. The remnant of this miserable carcass was thrown into it, and soon consumed. It was the first of January 1701, and we saw the flame as we returned from Delos. It might properly be called a rejoicing bonfire, as no more complaints

were heard of the Broucolack. They only said, that the devil had at last met with his match, and some ballads were made to turn him into ridicule.

It is a notion which prevails all over the Archipelago, that the devil re-animates no carcases but those of the Greek communion. The inhabitants of Santorini are terribly afraid of these bug-bears: those of Mycone, after their whims were dissipated, were equally afraid of a prosecution from the Turks, and from the bishop of Tinos. Not a single Papas would venture to be at St. George's when the body was burnt, for fear the bishop should insist upon a fee for their taking up and burning a body without his leave. As for the Turks, they did not fail, at their next visit, to make the Myconians pay heavily for their treatment of this poor devil, who became in every respect an object of abomination and horror to all the country. After this instance, is it possible to deny, that the modern Greeks are no great Grecians, and that nothing but ignorance and superstition prevails among them? Such is the account given by M. de Tournefort.

XLII.

Whether the devil has a power of taking away, and restoring life?

IT is pretended*, that the devil has a power of restoring to life, and of preserving from corruption for a certain time, any dead body that he has a mind to make use of in frightening and deceiving mankind. M. Remy, attorney-general of

* Debrío, l. ii. Magic. Quæst. 19. sect. 2. Loyer, l. iii. de Spectris, c. x. & seq.

Lorrain; relates a fact, in confirmation of this notion, which happened in his time, that is, in the year 1581, at Dalhient, a village situated between the Moselle and the Sare. A herdsman of this village, named Pierron, who was married and had a son, conceived a violent passion for a girl of the same place. One day, as he was in the fields, with his thoughts fixed upon the object of his affections, the girl, or the devil in her form, appeared to him. Pierron immediately discovered his passion, and she promised to gratify it, if he would absolutely give himself up to her, and obey all her commands. Pierron accepted the terms, and his desires were immediately granted. Some time after, Abrahel (which is the name the devil assumed) insisted upon the man's sacrificing to him his only son, as a pledge of his affection, and gave him an apple for the child to eat, who, as soon as he tasted it, immediately fell down dead, and left the parents in grief and despair at this fatal accident.

Some time after, Abrahel appeared again to the herdsman, and promised to restore the child to life, if the father would ask that favour by paying him the adoration due to the Supreme Being. The peasant fell on his knees, and worshipped him, and immediately the child began to revive, and open his eyes. Upon being brought to the fire, and having his limbs rubbed, he begun to walk and speak, and was in all respects the same as before, except that he was pale, meagre, and wan, his eyes sunk, his motions slow and heavy, and his faculties dull and stupid. At the year's end, the devil, which animated his body, left him with a frightful noise, and the child immediately fell

t Nicol. Remi Demonolatr. l. ii. p. 195, & 190. Periocha, p. 13.

backward, and stunk in so intolerable a manner, that his body was drawn out of the house with a crook, and buried instantly without any ceremony.

The story being carried to Nancy, was legally examined by the magistrates, who having made the exactest enquiry, and heard the depositions of witnesses, found that the thing really happened in the manner above-mentioned.

Procopius, in his secret history of Justinian^a, declares that he himself, and many others, were fully convinced, that that emperor was a devil incarnate. He says the same of the empress Theodora, his wife. Josephus, the Jewish historian^b, is of opinion, that it is the souls of wicked men that enter into the bodies of persons possessed, and when they are got there, torment them, and make them act and speak as they please.

It is plain from St. Chrysostom^c, that it was a notion in his time among many Christians, that the souls of persons, who died a violent death, were changed into devils, and that the magicians, in their wicked rites, make use of the soul of a murdered child, in order to pry into futurity. St. Philastrius ranks in the number of heretics, those who believed that the souls of wicked men were changed into devils^d.

According to the system maintained by these authors, the devil might very well enter into the body of the herdsman's child, endue it with motion, and give it a sort of life, as long as the body remained uncorrupted, and the organs were not disqualified for their usual functions. In short,

^a Procop. Hist. Secret. c. 12.

^b Joseph. Antiquit. l. vii. c. 25. & de Bello Jud. l. vii. c. 5.

^c Chrysost. Concion. 2. de Lazaro, t. ii. p. 717. Nov. edit. & t. vii. p. 336.

^d Philastr. Hæres. 73.

it was not the soul of the child that animated its body, but the devil supplied its place.

It is a notion of Philo's, that as there are good and evil angels, so there are good and evil souls; and that such as take possession of human bodies, infuse into them also their good or evil qualities^a. It appears from the Gospels, that the Jews believed it possible for the same body to be animated by several souls. Herod fancied that the soul of John the Baptist, whom he had beheaded, was entered into our Saviour's body, and *that therefore mighty works did shew forth themselves in him*^b. Others of the Jews imagined, that he was animated by the soul of Elias, or Jeremias^c, or some other of the old prophets. I am far from adopting these notions; and yet I do not think it absurd to suppose, that, by God's permission, a devil, or soul, may communicate fresh life and motion to a dead body, when the blood is not congealed, nor the texture entirely disordered, nor the flesh corrupted.

XLIII.

Whether the devil has a power of causing death?

BUT if we attribute to the devil a power of communicating life and motion to a dead body, the same reasons will hold much stronger for his causing death. In fact, we are told in Scripture, that the devil put to death the seven first husbands of Sarah, Tobias's wife: and it is the opinion of the most learned commentators, that the angels, who smote the army of Sennacherib, king of Assyria, and put to death the first-born

^a Philo de Gigantib. & alibi sæpius.

^b Mark vi. 14. Luke ix. 8, 9.

^c Matt. xvi. 14. Luke ix. 19, &c.

of Egypt, and destroyed the rebellious Israelites in the wilderness, acted in all these cases by the express command, or at least, by the permission of God.

XLIV.

The manner of putting persons to death by incantation, as practised by the heathens.

THE antient Greeks and Romans evidently attributed to the devil a power of putting persons to death, by the help of a magical ceremony, which consisted in forming a waxen image as like as possible to the person upon whom the experiment was to be tried, and devoting it to destruction, with certain ceremonies prescribed by the art. It was then put in the fire, and as the image melted, the person whom it represented, gradually wasted away, and at last died. Theocritus introduces a woman, who was violently in love with the shepherd Delphis, calling upon her assistant witch, and praying, that her beloved swain may melt like the waxen image that represents him ^d.

Horace has also introduced two witches ^e raising departed spirits, in order to learn the secrets of futurity. They first tear to pieces with their teeth a black lamb, and pour its blood into a pit, to intice up the souls from whom they expect their intelligence. Their next step is to set up two statues, one of wax, and another of wool; the latter of which is the larger, and domineers over the other,

^d Theocrit. Idyll. ii.

Ὡς τέτον τον καρον εγω συν δαιμονι τακω,

Ὡς τακοιθ' ὑπ' ἐρώτος ὁ Μυνδιος κυτικα Δελφίς.

^e Horat. Serm. l. i. satyr. 8.

which

which stands in a supplicating posture, and seems to expect nothing but death. After a variety of magical ceremonies, the waxen image is consumed in the fire.

*Lanea & effigies erat, altera cerea : major
Lanea, quæ pænis compesceret inferiorem.
Cerea suppliciter stabat, servilibus utque
Jam peritura modis
. Et imagine cereâ
Largior arserit ignis.*

He introduces the subject also in another place^f, and makes a sham recantation to Canidia of all the abuse he had thrown upon her art, the power of which, he tells her, he now knows by experience, and finds that she is able to animate waxen figures, and to fetch down the moon from heaven.

*An quæ morere cereas imagines,
(Ut ipse nosti curiosus) & polo
Deripere lunam*

Virgil § also has mentioned these devilish rites, and particularly the incantation of waxen statues.

*Limus ut hic durescit, & hæc ut cera liquefcit
Uno eodemque igni ; sic nostro Daphnis amore.*

But there is great reason to believe, that these poets introduced the subject, only to shew the folly of such pretended mysteries, and the vanity and impotence of all magical ceremonies.

^f Horat. Epod. xvii.

[§] Virgile Eclog. viii.

We have in Lucian ^b an account of the effects produced by the art of a certain Hyperborean conjurer, who having made a Cupid of earth, gave it life, and sent it to fetch a girl named Chryseis, with whom a young man had fallen violently in love. The cupid performed his errand; and next morning at day-break, the moon, which the magician had fetched down from heaven, returned and took her former place; Hecate, who was brought from hell, fled thither again, and the rest of the scene disappeared entirely. Lucian justly laughs at all such tales, and shrewdly observes, that these magicians, who boast of so extensive a power, seldom exert it but in favour of beggars, and are generally beggars themselves.

What is much to be wondered at, is, that these superstitious and abominable practices should ever get footing among Christians, and become objects of terror to those who ought to despise them as vain and impotent.

XLV.

Instances of enchanted images among Christians.

WE read in the history of the archbishops of Treves ⁱ, that Eberard, archbishop of that diocese, who died in the year 1067, having threatened to expel the Jews out of his capital, except they became Christians within a certain time, these wretches prevailed upon an ecclesiastick, for a large sum of money, to baptize for them a waxen image, in the bishop's name, to which they tied matches or wax-candles, and set them on fire on Easter-eve, as the prelate was going to perform the so-

^b Lucian. in Philopseud. p. 832.

ⁱ Hist. Trevir. c. lvii.

lemn ceremonies of the day. While he was employed in this holy function, about the time that the image was half consumed, he felt himself extremely ill, and being led into the vestry, expired soon after.

In the year 1317, pope John XXII * made a complaint, in several publick letters, of certain villains that had made an attempt upon his life by operations of this sort. He seems to be fully convinced of their efficacy, and attributes his preservation to the special protection of God. "We give you to know, says he, that certain traitors have conspired against us, and against some of the cardinals, our brethren; that they have prepared potions and images to take away our lives; but it has pleased God to preserve us."

This letter is dated the 27th of July. On the 27th of February, the pope issued out a commission of enquiry after these poisoners, addressed to Bartholomew, bishop of Frejus, the pope's successor in that see, and to Peter Teissier, doctor of laws, and afterwards cardinal. The substance of it is as follows. "We have been informed, that John de Limoges, James surnamed Brabançon, John d'Amant, physician, and several others, moved by a damnable curiosity, apply themselves to the study of books of necromancy, and other magical arts; that they have frequently made use of looking-glasses, and consecrated images, and, placing themselves within a circle, have raised evil spirits, in order to put men to death by enchantments, and shorten their days by diseases. They are also accused of confining devils within looking-glasses, circles, and rings, in order to question them concerning future events, and make them foretel what is to hap-

* Rainald. ad an. 1317.

“pen hereafter. They have even boasted of having made several experiments of this sort, and have the audaciousness to assert, that they can shorten, or prolong, or take away, the lives of men, and heal all diseases, not only by giving certain things to eat and drink, but by the bare pronounciation of certain words.”

On the 22d of April, 1317, the pope issued out a like commission to the bishop of Riez, the above-mentioned Peter Teissier, Peter Desprez, and two others, to examine into the conspiracy against himself and the cardinals. In this commission, the charge against the criminals runs thus. “They have prepared certain potions, in order to poison us and several cardinals, and not having an opportunity of making us take them, they have made waxen figures in our names, in order to destroy us by pricking these images with magical enchantments, and invocation of devils. But it has pleased God to preserve us, and to suffer three of these images to come into our possession.”

We meet with a like description of these enchantments in a letter writ three years after to the inquisitor at Carcassone, by William de Godin, cardinal and bishop of Sabine. “The pope, says he, orders you to enquire after, and proceed against all those who sacrifice, worship, or do any sort of homage to devils, or enter into any express contract with them, by writing, or otherwise, or make images, by way of compact with the devil, or commit any other act of sorcery by his assistance. You are also to proceed against all those who abuse the sacrament of baptism, by baptising images made of wax or other materials, with invocation of devils; or who abuse the eucharist, or consecrated host, or any other sacrament, in acts of witchcraft.

“In

“ In all these cases, you are to proceed against them, as in matters in heresy ; and the pope hereby authorises you to do it.” This letter is dated at Avignon, August 22, 1320.

At the trial of Enguerrand de Marigny, there was produced a magician, who was caught making waxen images, representing king Louis Hutin, and Charles de Valois, whom he attempted to put to death, by pricking or melting these figures at the fire. It is said also, that Cosmo Ruggieri of Florence, a famous Atheist and magician, had a private room, where he used to shut himself up alone, and prick with a needle a waxen figure, which he had made to represent the king, after having loaded it with curses, and devoted it with other frightful ceremonies, in hopes of making the king die of a lingering disease¹.

Whether these enchantments, images, and other ceremonies, produced any effect or not, they are still proofs of the notions which were then entertained concerning the mischievous dispositions of magicians, and of the fear which prevailed of their imprecations proving effectual ; and it may reasonably be supposed, that people fancied they had met with some facts, either real or imaginary, to countenance this fear.

The ignorance of that age attributed several natural events to supernatural causes ; and it being clear from Scripture, that God has frequently permitted the devil to deceive and hurt mankind by miraculous methods, it was instantly taken for granted, that there was such a thing as magick, or an art, consisting of infallible rules discovering certain secrets, and doing certain sorts of mischief by the help of the devil, as if God had not always

¹ De Thou. l. vi. de Vita sua. Journal de Henri III. t. i. p. 68, 69, 70, &c. edit. 1744.

a power of permitting or hindering these effects, or would ratify every bargain made with that evil spirit. But upon a strict enquiry into this pretended magic, it turns out to be nothing but an art of poisoning, accompanied with superstitious ceremonies, and gross imposture.

Under the head of ghosts and spectres, may be reduced the stories of persons, who have promised to appear to one another after their deaths, and bring news of what passes in the other world, and of their own condition in it.

XLVI.

Of persons who have promised to bring one another an account of the other world.

THE story of the marquis of Rambouillet's appearing after his death to the marquis of Precy is well known^m. These two noblemen being one day talking of the affairs of the other world, in a manner which shewed they did not believe much about it, entered into an agreement, that the first that died should come and give intelligence to the other. Soon after the marquis of Rambouillet set out for Flanders, which was then the seat of war, and the marquis of Precy staid at Paris, being ill of a violent fever. About six weeks after, he heard some one draw the curtains of his bed, and turning to see who it was, discovered the marquis of Rambouillet in a buff-coat and boots. He instantly got out of bed, and ran to embrace his friend, but Rambouillet drew back, and told him that he was come to perform the

^m Memoires de Rochefort. But I quote this book as nothing but a romance. See

also the Causes Celebres. t. xi. p. 370.

promise he had formerly made; that nothing was more certain than what they had been taught concerning another life; that he advised him earnestly to alter his way of life, for that the first action he should be engaged in, he would certainly fall. Precy made a fresh attempt to embrace his friend, but grasped only the air; upon which, Rambouillet, seeing that he still disbelieved what was told him, shewed him the wound in his reins of which he died, from which the blood still seemed to flow.

Soon after this, Precy received a confirmation of the marquis of Rambouillet's death, and was killed himself in the civil war, at the battle of the Faubourg St. Antoine.

XLVII.

Several instances of people's coming again after their death.

PPETER the Venerable, abbot of Cluni, relates a story "much of the same nature with the last. Humbert, son of Guichard de Belioc, a nobleman of the bishoprick of Macon, having declared war against some other lords in the neighbourhood, a gentleman, named Geoffrey d'Iden, received in one of the skirmishes a wound, of which he died upon the spot. About two months after, he appeared to one Milon d'Ansa, and desired him to inform Humbert de Belioc, in whose service he had lost his life, that he was now in torments for having assisted Humbert in an unjust war, and for not having done penance for his sins before he died: he therefore begged Humbert to take pity upon him, and upon his own father Gui-

chard, who had left him a great estate, which he employed to ill purposes, and part of which was unjustly acquired. It was true indeed, he said, that Guichard, Humbert's father, had entered into a monastick life at Cluni, but he had not had time to make satisfaction to God for the sins of his past life. It was, therefore, Humbert's duty to give alms, and have masses said in their behalf; and to procure the prayers of pious people, in order to their more speedy deliverance from torment. He added, Tell him, that if he pays no regard to this message, I shall be obliged to come myself.

Milon d'Ansa executed his commission punctually; and Humbert was a little frightened, but did not grow a bit better. However, being under some apprehension that his father Guichard, or Geoffrey d'Ilden would disturb him, he would never venture to be by himself, especially in the night, but took care to have some of his servants always with him. Notwithstanding this precaution, as he was lying awake one morning, he saw Geoffrey stand before him in complete armour, pointing to the wound of which he died, and reproaching him bitterly with his barbarity to himself, and his own father, who were both in torments upon his account. Beware, added Geoffrey, of God's dealing severely with you, and refusing you that mercy which you refuse us; but, beware particularly of executing your resolution of making war upon count Amedæus. If you do it, you will lose both your life and fortune.

The deceased had scarce done speaking, and Humbert was just going to answer, when Richard de Marcy, Humbert's squire, came in from mass, and the spectre disappeared. From that moment, Humbert did every thing in his power to relieve his father and Geoffrey, and resolved to go upon a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, for the expiation of

his own sins. Peter the Venerable was fully acquainted with all the circumstances of this affair, which was much talked of all over the country, and happened the same year that he took his journey into Spain.

Marfilius Ficinus assures us, that he made an agreement with his friend Michael Mercates, that which ever of the two died first, should come again after his death, and satisfy the survivor concerning the immortality of the soul. It happened that Ficinus died first; and after his death he appeared to Mercates, who was in his study employed in some philosophical enquiry, and revealed to him several secrets of the other world. A great number of instances of this sort may be met with in the writings of Glanville, and Dr. Henry More.

The following story is taken from the life of brother Joseph de Lionisse, a Capuchin missionary, b. i. 64, and following pages. As he and his companion were one day engaged in conversation, concerning the duties of a religious life, the fidelity which God requires of all who have devoted themselves to that profession, the rewards of those who fulfil their obligations, and the severe punishment reserved for unfaithful servants, brother Joseph said to him, I desire we may give a mutual promise, that he who dies first shall appear to the survivor, if God will permit it, to give information of what passes in the other world, and of his own condition in it. With all my heart, answered the other, I give you my word to do so. And I, replied brother Joseph, enter into the same engagement. A few days after, the good man was seized with an illness, which proved mortal; and brother Joseph, who knew his uncommon merit, was sensibly afflicted at the loss: he doubted not, however, but the deceased would appear, and perform his promise,

promise, at a time when he least expected it. Accordingly, one day when brother Joseph was retired to his chamber after dinner, there appeared to him the figure of a Capuchin, frightfully thin and meagre, with a pale, wasted face, who spoke to him with a hoarse and trembling voice. Upon Joseph's seeming a little surprized at the sight, Be not afraid, says the spectre, I am come to perform my promise, and inform you, that I am admitted, by the mercy of God, into the number of the elect. But know, that salvation is a more difficult work than the world is apt to imagine; that God, who sees into the deepest secrets of the heart of man, weighs exactly all the actions of our lives, all our thoughts and desires, and motives in acting; and that, as he is inexorably severe to sinners, so is he good, and compassionate, and rich in mercy to such as have served him faithfully. Having said this, the phantom disappeared.

XLVIII.

Why others who have made the same engagements do not appear also.

IT will here naturally be asked, whence it happens that so many other persons, who have made the same promise to come again after their death, have not done it? Seneca^{*} mentions a Stoick philosopher, named Canius Julius, who being condemned to death by Caligula, told his friends, that whereas they were enquiring, whether the soul was immortal, or not, he was going to a place, where he should soon know: but

* Senec. de. Animi Tranquill. c. xiv.

are not told that he came again to clear up the matter.

La Motte le Vayer^p, made an agreement with his friend Baranzan, the Barnabite, that the first of the two that died, should come and inform the other of his condition. It happened that Baranzan died first, but he never kept his promise.

It is wrong to conclude, that, because the dead sometimes come again, therefore they do so always. And in like manner it would be reasoning weakly to say, that they never come again, because some that have promised to do so have not kept their word. To justify these positions, we must suppose it to be in their own power to appear when, and how, they please; but it seems evident, on the contrary, that this does not depend upon them, and that it is by the particular permission of Almighty God, that they ever appear at all.

We see, by the story of the rich man and Lazarus, that God would not permit one to rise from the dead, in order to convert the rich man's unbelieving brethren. And the same reasons may have hindered the coming again of Canius Julius, and Baranzan. And in all cases, we may venture to affirm, that the return and apparition of departed souls is not a natural event, or such as depends upon their own will, but of a supernatural and miraculous kind.

^p La Motte le Vayer; de l'Immortalité de l'Ame.

XLIX.

Different ways of accounting for the coming again of deceased persons.

IF we reflect upon the noise which has been made in the world by ghosts, it is not surprising that a variety of systems and hypotheses should be formed to account for this phænomenon. Some have supposed the resurrection to be only momentary, and the body to be animated by its former soul, or by the devil; either of which may be imagined to enter into it, and give it life and motion, while the blood still retains its former consistence and fluidity, and the organs are not entirely decayed and discomposed.

Others, to avoid the consequences which they fancied might be drawn from the former hypothesis, have chose rather to suppose, that vampires were not really dead, but still retained some principles of life, and that their souls had a power of re-animating them from time to time, and bringing them out of their graves, in order to recruit their vital juices and animal spirits, by sucking the blood of their relations.

L.

A dissertation on the uncertainty of the signs of death, and the danger of hasty burials, by M. James Benignus Winslow, regent-doctor of physick at Paris, translated, and illustrated with notes, by James John Brubier, doctor of physick. Printed at Paris, 1742.

THERE was printed at Paris, in the year 1742, a work, which may serve to explain how persons that have been thought dead, and have been buried accordingly, have notwithstanding recovered a considerable time after their burial, and may consequently contribute to make vampirism seem less incredible. M. Winslow, regent-doctor of physick at Paris, maintained a thesis in April 1740, in which he enquires whether chirurgical experiments are the properest means of discovering the most certain symptoms, in cases of doubtful death. He asserts, that there are several cases, in which the signs of death are very uncertain, and he quotes several instances of persons that have been thought dead, and have been buried as such, but have afterwards recovered.

This discourse has been translated into French by M. Bruhier, who has added some learned notes, which serve very much to confirm M. Winslow's opinion; and, upon the whole, it is a work very interesting for its matter, and very entertaining for its manner. In the following extract of some few particulars relating to my subject, I have confined myself to the most undisputed and extraordinary facts; for to relate them all would be to transcribe the whole book.

It is well known, that Johannes Duns, surnamed Scotus, or the subtle doctor, was unfortunately

buried alive at Cologne, and that when his grave was opened some time after, they found he had gnawed his arm. The same thing is told of the emperor Zeno, who was heard to cry out several times by those that watched his grave. The famous Lancisi, physician to pope Clement XI, says, that he knew a person of distinction at Rome, who was still alive at the time when he wrote, who recovered, and came to himself, while they were singing the last service for him at church.

Peter Zacchias, another celebrated physician at Rome, says, that a young man, in the hospital of the Holy Ghost, being seized with the plague, fell into so deep a swoon, that he was thought absolutely dead; but that as they were carrying his body, with several others, across the Tyber to be buried, he shewed some signs of life. Upon this, he was brought back to the hospital, and recovered. Two days after, he fell into a like swoon, and was now thought to be irrecoverably dead, and thrown among the other bodies that were to be buried. However, he recovered a second time, and was living when Zacchias wrote.

LI.

Several instances of persons buried alive.

THERE is an account in Plutarch of a man that fell headlong from a high place, and was thought to be dead, though there was no sign of a wound upon him; but as he was carrying to be buried three days after, he suddenly recovered his strength, and came to himself.

Asclepiades^a once meeting a great procession attending a dead body to the grave, begged that

^a Cels. 1. ii. c. 6.

he might see and touch the corps, and finding that it had some signs of life, he immediately recovered the person, by means of some remedies, and restored him sound to his friends.

There are many instances to be met with of persons, actually buried, that have come to themselves, and lived a long time after in perfect health. There is one story in particular of a woman at Orleans, who was buried with a ring on her finger, which could not easily be got off before she was put into her coffin. The next night a servant came and opened the grave, and broke up the coffin; but not being able to pull off the ring, was going to cut off her finger; but she gave a great cry, and the servant took to his heels. When he was gone, the woman got off her grave-clothes, went home, and out-lived her husband.

M. Benard, one of the principal surgeons in Paris, avers, that he was present, with his father, in the parish-church of Real, when a Franciscan friar was taken out of his grave alive, who had been buried three or four days, and had gnawed the flesh off his hands, round the bandage which tied them down: but, upon being brought into the air, he instantly expired.

Several authors have mentioned the story of the magistrate of Cologne's wife, that was buried with a valuable ring on her finger, which tempted the sexton to come the next night and open the grave, in order to steal the ring. But the good woman laid hold of him, and forced him to draw her with him out of the vault, and then he disengaged himself from her, and fled. The woman, after this strange resurrection, went and knocked

Miffon, Voyage d'Italie.
t. i. lett. 5. Goulart, His-
toires admirables & memora-

bles. Printed at Geneva in
1628.

at her own house, where she was taken for a spectre, and left shivering at the door a considerable time. At last, the door was opened, and she was put into a warm bed, where she soon recovered, and had three sons afterwards, who were all bred to the church. The event is perpetuated by a representation of it engraved on her tomb; and related in some verses writ in the German language. They add, that when she came to the door, and was refused admittance, she told the servant, in order to convince the family, that it was she herself, that the horses were got up into the corn-loft, which was found to be true; and there are now remaining at the windows of that very loft, several horses heads cut in wood, as a monument of the truth of the thing.

Francis de Civile*, a Norman gentleman, about the age of twenty-six, who commanded a company of an hundred men in the city of Rouen, when it was besieged by Charles IX, being wounded in one of the attacks, was thrown for dead into a pit with another corps, and covered with a little earth. Here he continued from eleven o'clock in the morning till half an hour after six in the evening, when his servant came to remove his body; but observing that there were still some symptoms of life in him, the man put him into a bed, where he lay five days and five nights, without speaking or shewing any other token of sense, but all the while in a burning fever. When the city was taken by storm, he fell into the hands of some servants belonging to an officer of the victorious army, who was to lodge in the house where Civile lay, and they threw him upon a straw bed in a back room. From hence he was thrown out of the window upon a heap of dung, where he lay for

* Miffon. Voyage, t. iii.

more than three days and three nights in nothing but his shirt. At the end of this time, a relation of his, surprized at finding him still alive, sent him to a house about a league from Rouen, where he was taken care of, and at last was perfectly recovered.

In the year 1558^t, when the plague raged in the town of Dijon, a lady, named Nicole Lentillet, being taken for dead, was thrown into a great pit, where they buried those that died of the epidemical disorder. The next morning after her burial she came to herself, and made several attempts to get out, but could not for her own weakness, and the weight of the other bodies that were thrown upon her. In this horrible situation she continued for four days, and was then taken out by the persons employed to bury the dead, and carried home, where she recovered her health entirely.

Much such another story is told of a young lady of Augsburg, who fell into a swoon^u, and was laid in a deep vault, the entrance of which was walled up again, without any earth being thrown upon her body. Some years after, upon the death of another person of the same family, the vault was opened, and the body of this young lady was found at the entrance, without any fingers on her right hand, and it was supposed that she had gnawed them off in despair.

^t Goulart, Loc. Citat.

^u M. Graffe Epitre à Fabri Guill. Fabri. Centur. 2. Observ. Chirurg. observ. 96.

LII.

Instances of persons that have recovered, after lying a considerable time under water.

TO the above-mentioned facts may be added the following instances of persons that have recovered several days after they were supposed to be drowned. One story is told by Pechlin^x of a gardener at Troningholm in Sweden, who was living at the time that Pechlin wrote. This man going to assist another that had fallen into the water, the ice broke under him, and he fell into a place eighteen ells deep, where his feet stuck in the mud at the bottom, and he stood in a perpendicular posture for sixteen hours. In this state, he entirely lost all sense, except that he fancied he heard the bells ringing at Stockholm, and felt the water run in, not at his mouth, but at his ears. After a search of sixteen hours, a crook happened to lay hold of his head, and he was drawn out. He was instantly put to bed, near a large fire, and, at last, by the help of rubbing, and other means, he came to himself. He was afterwards shewn to the king and queen, to whom he related his case, and had a pension settled upon him.

A woman of the same country was recovered in the same manner, after having been three days under water. Another person, named Lawrence Jonas, a lad of seventeen years of age, was taken out of the water seven weeks after his first falling in, and was recovered much in the same way with the two former.

M. D'Egly, a member of the royal academy of inscriptions and belles lettres at Paris, tells a story

^x Pechlin apud Derham, *Physico Theol.* book iv. c. vii.

of a Swiss, a famous diver, who went into a hole in the river, where he expected to find good fish, and continued there about nine hours; when he was drawn out with crooks, wounded in several places. M. D'Egly, who was present, observing that the water bubbled as it came out of his mouth, insisted that he was not dead; and the man actually revived, by being held for about three quarters of an hour in a proper posture for the water to run out of his body, and being afterwards wrapped up in warm linen, put into a bed, and let blood.

Several more instances might be produced of persons that have revived, after having lain seven weeks under water. There are several also recorded of a shorter time, as that of Gocellin, nephew to an archbishop of Cologne, who fell into the Rhine, and lay there fifteen days before he was found. At the end of this space, he was carried to St. Fuitbert's tomb, and there recovered.

LIII.

Instances of women who have been thought dead, and have afterwards revived.

IT is asserted by very able physicians, that in a suffocation^y of the matrix, a woman will live thirty days without breathing. I myself knew a lady that lay six and thirty hours without shewing any signs of life, and every body thinking her dead, she would have been buried, if her husband had not opposed it. At the end of that time, she came to herself, and said that she heard plainly every thing that was said, and knew that they pro-

^y Le Clerc, Hist. of Physick,

posed to bury her; but she was so heavy and benumbed, that she should have let them do whatever they pleased, without making the least resistance.

Much like this is the case which St. Augustin mentions of Prætextatus, who was subject to swoons, or fainting-fits, in which he heard distinctly every thing that was said, but would suffer his flesh to be cut or burnt, without making any opposition, or shewing the least signs of feeling.

Corneille le Bruyn, in his travels², gives an account of a Turk that he saw at Damietta in Egypt, who went by the name of the *dead child*, because his mother, when she was big with him, was taken very ill, and being thought dead, was carried out pretty expeditiously, according to the custom of that country, (where they are forced to bury their dead soon, especially when they die of the plague) and laid in a vault which her husband had made for the use of his family.

In the evening, some hours after she was buried, the husband, taking it into his head that the child she was big with might possibly be alive, went and had the vault opened, and found that she was actually delivered of a living child, but was dead herself. Some say that the child was heard to cry, and that it was upon receiving this intelligence, that the father had the grave opened. However this be, the child grew up, and was alive in 1677. Le Bruyn is of opinion, that the woman was dead when he was born; but it seems impossible that a woman, in that case, should bring a child into the world. It must be observed, that in Egypt, where this happened, the women are delivered with great ease, as we learn from both ancient and modern writers, and that this woman was only shut up in a vault, and not covered with earth.

² Corn. le Bruyn, t. i. p. 579.

It would be easy to multiply instances of persons that have been buried alive, of others that have recovered as they were carrying to be buried, and others that have been taken out of the grave by chance. A person that is curious in this matter, may consult the above-mentioned work of the two learned physicians, or any of the authors that have wrote expressly upon this subject. The consequence^a which the physicians draw from these facts is of great importance, namely, that no one ought to be buried, without an absolute certainty of their being dead, especially in time of a plague, or in the case of other diseases, which deprive persons instantaneously of sense and motion.

LIV.

Whether these instances can be applied to the case of vampires.

A Further use may be made of these instances and reflections, to support the credibility of vampirism, by supposing that the spectres so much talked of in Hungary, Moravia, Poland, &c. are nothing but persons that are still alive in their graves, though without motion or respiration; and that the freshness, and ruddy colour of their blood, the flexibility of their limbs, and their crying out when their hearts are run through with a stake, or their heads cut off, are demonstrative proofs of their being still alive. But this does not affect the principal difficulty at which I stick, namely, how they come out of, and go into their graves, without leaving any mark of the earth's being removed; and how they appear in their former clothes. If they are not really dead, why do they return to their graves again, and not stay in the land of the

^a See M. Bruhier's additions, p. 167.

living?

living? Why do they suck the blood of their relations, and torment and pester persons that should naturally be dear to them, and never gave them any offence? On the other hand, if it be nothing but a mere whim of the persons infested, whence comes it that these carcases are found in their graves uncorrupted, full of blood, with their limbs pliant and flexible, and their feet dirty the next day after they have been patrolling about, and frightening the neighbourhood, whilst nothing of this sort can be discovered in other carcases that were buried at the same time, and in the same ground? Whence is it that they come no more, after they are burnt or empaled? Can this too be owing to mere prejudice and fancy, dissipated and cured by these executions? Whence again is it, that these scenes are so frequently acted over again in these particular countries, that these prejudices of the inhabitants are never to be rooted out, and that daily experience, instead of putting a stop to these fancies, serves only to increase and strengthen them?

LV.

Of corpses that chew in their graves, like hogs.

IT is an opinion which prevails much in Germany, that there are corpses which chew in their graves, and devour whatever lies near them. Some go so far as to say, they may be heard munching, like hogs, with a sort of grunting, grumbling noise.

A German writer, named Michael Raufft, has writ a treatise upon this subject, which he entitles, *De Masticatione Mortuorum in tumulis*. He supposes it to be a certain fact, that dead corpses have devoured

voured their sinners, and whatever else was within reach of their mouths, and that some have even eat their own flesh from their bones. He observes^b, that it is a custom in some parts of Germany to prevent this practice by putting a lump of earth under the chin of the corps, and that in other places they make use of a piece of money, or a stone, for this purpose, or tie the throat close with a handkerchief. He quotes several German authors that mention this ridiculous custom, and makes extracts from several others, who speak of corpses that have devoured their own flesh in the grave. This work was printed at Leipfick in 1728; and the author frequently refers to another writer, named Philip Rehrius, who published a treatise in 1679, with the same title, *De Masticatione Mortuorum*.

To the facts which he has collected, he might have added the story of Henry count of Salm^c, who, being thought dead, was really buried alive. The night after, a great cry was heard in the church of the abbey of Haute-Seille, where he was buried; and his grave being opened the next morning, he was found with his face downwards, instead of lying upon his back, as he had been buried.

A few years since, a man being buried in the church-yard at Bar-le-duc, there was a noise heard in the grave; and next day the man, being dug up, was found to have eat the flesh off his arms. This I had from several eye-witnesses. The man, it seems, was stupefied by drinking a great quantity of brandy, and was taken for dead. Raufft^d men-

^b Mich. Raufft, alterâ Disferti. art. Ivii. p. 98, 99, & art. lix. p. 100. Vide & Christian. Cherenfied. Seyffert de nummis in fore defunctorum

reptis. art. ix. à Beier. Muller, &c.

^c Richer. Senon. t. iii. Spicileg. Dacherii, p. 392.

^d Raufft, art. xlii. p. 43.
tions

tions a woman of Bohemia, in the year 1345, who devoured half of her burying-linen. In Luther's time, there was a man and woman, that eat their own bowels in their graves : and in Moravia, a man devoured the linnen belonging to a woman that lay in the next grave.

LVI.

Instance of a vampire in Hungary.

BUT the most remarkable of all his stories*, is that of a man, named Peter Plogojowitz, an inhabitant of a village in Hungary, called Kisolova, who, after he had been buried above ten weeks, appeared by night to several persons in the village while they were asleep, and squeezed their throats in such a manner, that they expired within twenty-four hours. There died in this manner no less than nine persons in eight days ; and the widow of this Plogosowitz deposed, that she herself had been visited by him since his death, and that his errand was to demand his shoes ; which frightened her to such a degree, that she left Kisolova, and went to live somewhere else.

These circumstances determined the inhabitants of the village to dig up the body of Plogojowitz, and burn it, in order to put a stop to such troublesome visits. Accordingly they applied to the commanding officer of the emperor's troops in the district of Gradisca, in the kingdom of Hungary, and to the incumbent of that place, for leave to dig up the corps. They both made a great many scruples to grant it ; but the peasants declared plainly, that if they were not permitted to dig up this cursed carcase, which they were fully convinced

* Raufft, art. xii, p. 15.

was a vampire, they should be forced to leave the village, and settle where they could.

The officer who gave this account, seeing that there was no hindering them either by fair means or foul, came in person, accompanied by the minister of Gradisca, to Kisolova, and they were both present at the digging up of the corps, which they found to be free from any bad smell, and perfectly sound, as if it had been alive, except that the tip of the nose was a little dry and withered. The beard and hair were grown afresh, and a new set of nails were sprung up, in the room of the old ones that had fallen off. Under the former skin, which looked pale and dead, there appeared a new one, of a natural fresh colour; and the hands and feet were as entire as if they belonged to a person in perfect health. They observed also, that the mouth of the vampire was full of fresh blood, which the people were persuaded he had sucked from the persons he had killed.

The officer and the divine having diligently examined into all these circumstances, the people, being fired with fresh indignation, and growing more fully persuaded that this carcase was the real cause of the death of their countrymen, ran immediately to fetch a sharp stake, which being drove into his breast, there issued from the wound, and also from his nose and mouth, a great quantity of fresh, ruddy blood; and something which indicated a sort of life, was observed to come from his private parts. The peasants then laid the body upon a pile of wood; and burnt it to ashes.

M. Rauff^f, who has recorded all these circumstances, quotes several authors who have writ upon this subject, and upon the case of dead bodies eating in their graves; but he seems to lay parti-

^f Art. xi. p. 14.

cular stress upon the testimony of Gabriel Rzaczynski, in his natural history of Poland, printed at Sandomir in 1721.

LVII.

Reflections upon this subject.

THE authors above-mentioned have reasoned much upon these events. 1. Some are of opinion that they are really miraculous. 2. Others look upon them as the mere effects of whim and prejudice. 3. Others again think there is nothing in them but what is very plain and natural, the persons not being dead, but acting upon other bodies in a more natural way. 4. There are others who attribute the whole to the operation of the devil. In which class, there are some who hold^e, that there is a sort of good-humoured, waggish devils, the authors of wanton, harmless pranks, and distinct from that gloomy species, which aims at nothing but the promotion of wickedness and misery among mankind. 5. Others will have it, that it is not the dead themselves which eat their own bodies and clothes, but that it is done by serpents, mice, moles, lynxes, and other animals of prey, and sometimes perhaps by what the Latins called *striges*, which are a species of birds that eat the flesh, and suck the blood of animals^h. Some have maintained, that these instances are chiefly remarked in women, and at times when the plague reigns. But there are examples of these spectres in both sexes, nay, rather more frequently in men;

^e Rudiger. Phis. div. l. i. c. 4. sect. 4. Theophr. Paracels. Georg. Agricola de anim. subterr. p. 76.

^h Ovid. l. vi. fast. vide Delrio disquis. magic. l. i. p. 6. & l. iii. p. 355.

though it must be confessed too, that those who die of the plague, or by poison, frenzy, drunkenness, or any epidemical disorder, are more apt to come again; probably because their blood does not congeal so easily, and because they are sometimes buried before they are really dead, in order to prevent their increasing the infection by lying long unburied.

It is added, that these vampires are known only in some countries, as Hungary, Moravia, Silesia, and a few others, where disorders of this kind are very frequent, and where the coarse food of the inhabitants renders them susceptible of certain indispositions, which take their rise from a bad climate, and unwholesome nourishment, but are prodigiously increased by prejudice, fancy, and fear, the frequent sources both of the production and increase of very dangerous distempers. But as for what is advanced by some, that dead bodies have been heard eating, and champing their teeth in the grave, like hogs, this is manifestly false, and could take its rise from nothing but the most ridiculous prepossessions.

LVIII.

Reflections upon vampires. Whether they are really dead or not.

THE hypothesis of those who maintain, that all the stories of vampires are the effect of mere fancy and whim, or of that disorder which the Greeks call *phrenesis*, or *corybantiasmus*, and who pretend to account for all the phænomena of vampirism from these principles, seems to be very weak in one respect, namely, in attributing to a disorder in the brain the real and substantial effects above-mentioned. It seems impossible to suppose,

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that several persons should, on a sudden, be possessed with an opinion that they see a thing which has no existence, and that they should die in so short a time of a mere imaginary disorder. Besides, how can they know, without a revelation, that such a particular body remains entire in the grave, is full of blood, and enjoys a sort of life after death? Can it be supposed, that a whole nation shall not afford a single man of sense, who is free from such whims, and has got the better of this general fascination, or of these sympathies and antipathies of natural magick, as some philosophers are pleased to call it? And, in the next place, have we not a right to call for an explanation of these pompous terms, and to expect to be let into the secret of these occult and mysterious operations? Except this be done, it is only explaining one obscurity by another, and substituting a greater difficulty in the room of a less.

Let us next see, whether the hypothesis of those who suppose that vampires are not really dead, stands upon a better bottom. It is evident, that death is nothing but a separation of soul and body, and that neither of these constituent parts of man is destroyed or annihilated by this separation. The soul is immortal, and the body continues entire for some time, and then moulders away gradually, sometimes in a few days, and sometimes in a longer space of time. There are even instances of its remaining uncorrupted for several years, nay several ages. And this difference in the periods of corruption, is owing either to a particular strength of constitution, as in the case of Hector and Alexander the Great, who continued several days without putrefying¹, or to the art of embalming, or

¹ Hom. Iliad, l. xxiv. v. 411. Plut. in Alexandro. Q. Curt. l. x. c. 10.

to the nature of the soil where the body is buried; there being some soils which have a property of drying up the radical moisture, and hindering putrefaction. It is not necessary to dwell here upon the proof of these particulars, as they are already sufficiently known.

Again, there are instances, in which the body, without being separated from the soul, has continued lifeless, and without motion, or at least with a motion so slow, and a respiration so weak, as to be almost imperceptible; as in the case of swoons, extasies, fainting fits, and some disorders incident to the female sex. Of this sort is the story of *Prætextatus*, the priest of Calama, and several other instances related above of persons taken for dead, and buried accordingly: to which may be added, the case of M. l'Abbé Salin, prior of St. Christopher's^k in Lorrain, who being laid in his coffin, and just ready to be carried to the grave, was revived by one of his friends, who poured a glass of Champagne down his throat. Several more of this sort are related, among which a very remarkable one is that which I have mentioned above, out of the *Causes Célèbres*, of a girl who was got with child in one of these long swoons^l.

Pliny^m has collected a great many instances of persons that have been thought dead, but have recovered, and lived a long time after. He mentions one in particular of a young man, who happening to fall asleep in a cavern, continued there forty years without waking. Our ownⁿ historians talk much of the seven sleepers, who slept for above a hundred and fifty years together, from the year

^k About the year 1680.
He died after the year 1694.

^l *Causes Célèbres*, t. viii.
p. 585.

^m Plin. Hist. Natur. l. vii.
c. 52.

ⁿ S. Greg. Turon. de Glor.
Martyr. c. xcv.

253 to the year 408. The philosopher Epimenides is said by some to have slept fifty-seven years, by others forty-seven, and by some only forty; the ancient writers not being agreed concerning the number. It is farther asserted, that this philosopher had a power of sending his soul away from his body, and calling it back again, whenever he pleased. The same thing is told also of Aristæus of Proconnesus. These stories I readily give up as fabulous, but at the same time insist upon the truth of several other instances of persons that have recovered, after having been thought dead for three, four, five, six, and seven days. Pliny says, that there are instances of people that have appeared again after their burial, but he does not relate them, because he confines his history to the works of nature only, and does not admit prodigies. *Post sepulturam quoque visorum exempla sunt, nisi quod naturæ opera, non prodigia consuetamur.*

The opinion that Enoch and Elijah are still living, I firmly assent to, and I find it is a notion which formerly prevailed with many, that St. John the Evangelist was not dead^o, but continued alive in his grave. Plato, and St. Clement of Alexandria^p, report, that Er, the son of Zoroaster, came to life again twelve days after his body had been laid upon the funeral pile. Phlegon says^q, that a Syrian soldier in Antiochus's army, after being killed at Thermopylæ, appeared in open day in the Roman camp, and spoke to several persons: and Plutarch mentions^r a man, named Thespeius, who was killed by a fall from the roof of a house, but came to life again three days after.

^o I have discussed this matter in a particular dissertation prefixed to St. John's Gospel.

^p Plat. de Rep. l. x. Clem. Alexand. Strom. l. v.

^q Phlegon de Mirabil. c. iii.

^r Plutarch. de serâ numinis vindictâ.

St. Paul, in his epistle to the Corinthians*, seems to suppose, that the soul sometimes leaves the body, and is actually present in the place where a person, in the common phrase, is said to be in spirit. *I knew a man*, says he, *that was caught up into the third heaven, and heard unspeakable things; but whether in the body, or out of the body, I cannot tell.* St. Augustin also speaks† of a priest of Calama, named Restitutus, who hearing some persons bewail themselves in a very plaintive tone, fell into such an extasy, that he was deprived of all sense and motion, and his flesh might have been burnt or cut, without his feeling it. His soul, I suppose, had either left his body, or was so entirely taken up with the lamentation, as to be insensible of pain. In the case of common swoons or faintings, the usual operations of the soul are suspended, though it really continues to reside in, and animate the body, but without any perception of its own actions.

LIX.

Story of a man, named Curma, sent back again into this world.

THERE is another story, much to the same purpose, told by St. Augustin‡, of a peasant, named Curma, who had a little office in the village of Tullia, near Hippo. This man fell sick, and lay for several days together senseless and speechless, without any sign of life but a gentle breathing, which was but just perceptible. After some time, he began to open his eyes, and the first thing he

* 2 Cor. xii. 2.

† Idem. lib. de Curâ pro

‡ Aug. l. xiv. de Civitat. mortuis, c. xii. p. 524.

Dei, c. xxiv.

did was sending to enquire what was become of another peasant of the same village, named Curma also; and word was brought him, that this Curma expired at the very instant that he himself recovered. Upon this, he begun to relate what he had heard and seen, and said, that when he was sent back again, he heard some one say, that it was a mistake, and that it was not Curma the Curial*, but Curma the farrier, that should have been brought. He added, that among the persons he saw in the other world, he discovered several of his acquaintance that were dead, and some ecclesiasticks still living, who advised him to come to Hippo, and get himself baptized by Augustin, the bishop of the diocese; and that, in compliance with their advice, he fancied himself to have received baptism.

After this, he was introduced into paradise, but did not stay there long, being told, that if he had a mind to live in that place, he must first be baptized. He answered, that he was so; but was told that this was only a vision, and that he must go to Hippo, and be baptized in earnest. As soon as he was recovered, he obeyed this injunction, and received baptism, with the other catechumens. The affair did not come to St. Augustin's ears till two years after, and then he sent for Curma, and learnt all these particulars from his own mouth. Now it is certain that Curma really saw none of the objects which were represented to him in this vision, neither the town of Hippo, nor St. Augustin, nor the ecclesiasticks who advised him to be baptized, nor the other persons of his acquaintance. We may therefore attribute the whole to the supreme power of God, who thinks proper to

* *Curialis* is St. Augustin's word, which means a little office in a village.

employ the intervention of angels to execute the judgments of his providence, in conveying advice, comfort, or terror to men.

St. Augustin, upon this occasion, proposes a question, Whether the dead have any knowledge of what passes in this world? and he decides it in the negative, for the following reasons; because Josiah^y is said to have been taken out of the world by God, that *he might not see the evil that was to fall upon the nation of the Jews*; and it is a common saying, that such a one is happy in being gone from the world, and knowing nothing of the miseries of his family, or his country. But if we admit this decision, how shall we account for the peace of departed souls being disturbed, on account of their bodies lying unburied? How can the saints hear our prayers, and to what purpose is it to desire their intercessions in our behalf? We must, therefore, suppose the dead to be acquainted with what passes upon earth, either by means of angels, or souls arriving fresh from this world, or by a revelation from God himself, who may well be supposed to communicate to them such particulars as it is expedient they should know. On the other hand, he sometimes sends persons that have been long dead upon errands to the living. Thus Moses and Elias appeared at the transfiguration of our Saviour, and the instances of departed saints that have come again are innumerable. In short, the invocation of saints has been always taught and practised in the church, and this evidently supposes, that they hear our prayers, are affected with our wants, and can relieve them by interceding in our favour. But in what manner it is done, is beyond our comprehension, since

^y 2 Chron. xxxiv. 28.

neither reason nor revelation affords us any light in this matter.

There is a story much like this in Lucian's dialogue, entitled *Philopseuds*², or *the lover of lies*. A man, named Eucrates, being conducted to hell, was presented before Pluto, who fell into a passion with the guide, and said, This man has not finished his course, his turn is not yet come. Go, fetch me Demilus, for his thread is out. Eucrates was accordingly sent back into the world, where he gave out that his neighbour Demilus (who was already a little indisposed) would soon die; and he had scarce spoke the words, before Demilus's family was heard crying for his death. Lucian indeed laughs at all these notions, but he allows that they prevailed universally in his time; and he says in the same place, that a man was known to come to life again, after being thought dead for twenty days.

The above-mentioned story of Curma brings into my memory another much like it, told by Plutarch¹, of one Enarchus, who came to life again soon after his death, and said, that the devils who carried him off were severely reprimanded by their commanding officer for making such a gross blunder, when it was Nicander, and not Enarchus, that they ought to have brought. To repair the mistake, they were ordered to fetch Nicander, who was immediately seized with a fever, and died the same day. Plutarch had this account from Enarchus himself, who, to confirm it, told Plutarch, that he should certainly recover very soon of the illness which he then had upon him.

¹ Lucian Philonf. p. 838.

Euseb. de Præp. Evang. l. xi.

² Plutarch. de Anima, apud

c. 18.

LX.

Of Cardan's putting himself into an extasy, and continuing insensible, whenever he pleased.

WE are told by Cardan^b, that he had a faculty of falling into an extasy whenever he thought proper: he owns that he cannot say whether he should be insensible of wounds, like Prætextatus, but that he did not feel his gout, nor was sensible of being pulled and hauled about. The priest of Calama, adds he, heard distinctly the voice of those that were speaking round him, as if it were at a great distance; but as for myself, I hear the voice indeed, but confusedly, and without knowing what is said. When I am going to be in an extasy, I feel about my heart something like a separation of my soul from the rest of my body, which is communicated from thence to my other parts, and particularly my head and brain; and then I am deprived of all sense, except a consciousness that I am in an extatic state.

To this place belong what is related of the people of Lapland^c, who when they want to know what is going forward in distant parts, send forth their devils, by using of certain magical ceremonies, and beating upon a drum or shield, painted in a particular manner, and then immediately fall down in a trance, and continue without motion, or any sign of life, sometimes for four and twenty hours together. But during this whole time, a person must stay by them, to prevent their

^b Hieron. Cardan. l. viii. de varietat. rerum. c. 34.

Lib. iv. Mus. c. 12. Peucer. de variis divinat. Generib. p. 282.

^c Olaus Magnus, l. iii. Epitom. Hist. Septentr.

being waked by any one's touching or speaking to them, for even the motion of a fly will break their trance, and in this case they die immediately, or are carried away by the devil.

But to return to the question, whether vampires are really dead or not; it is easy to produce several instances of animals, which appear to have lost all motion, life, and sense, and after a certain time recover them again. I would not conclude from hence, that the same thing may happen to some men in some climates; but these instances may serve to make the opinion of those who suppose vampires to be only stupefied, or asleep, and not really dead, seem less incredible and absurd.

LXI.

Instances of men, and other animals, continuing for a long time as if they were dead.

IT is well known, that serpents, worms, flies, snails, and dormice, continue in a state of insensibility all winter, and that toads, snakes, and oysters have been found alive in large blocks of stone, where they must have been shut up for several years, and in some cases for more than a century. Cardinal de Retz, in his Memoirs, gives an account of his being at Minorca^d, where the governor of the island entertained him with excellent oysters, taken alive out of the middle of large rocks, which had been drawn out of the bottom of the sea with cables, and were then broke in pieces with large hammers.

There is a fish called a *dactyl*, or *date*, or *dale*, found upon the coasts of Sicily, Malta, Sardinia,

^d Memoires du Card. de Retz, t. iii. l. 4. p. 297.

and Italy, which insinuates itself into stones, by means of a hole no bigger than the point of a needle; and there feeds upon the inside of the stone, till it grows too large to be got out any other way but by breaking the stone. It is then washed and cleaned, and served up at table; and is much like the date which grows upon palm-trees, or the finger of a man's hand; from which last resemblance it has the name of *daētylos*, a word which, in Greek, signifies a finger.

It is well known that there are men who can stay a considerable time under water without breathing, and that others have lain long in a grave without dying. I imagine too, that death is frequently occasioned by the blood's being coagulated, and fixed in the veins, as is the case of persons that eat hemlock, or are bit by some sorts of serpents. But there are others, whose death is occasioned by too great a fermentation in the blood, as in acute disorders, in certain kinds of poison, and even some sorts of pestilence: in short, in all the various cases of violent death, and particularly drowning.

Now, in the former of these cases, a dead person can be restored to life by nothing less than a miracle, it being necessary for this end, that the blood should recover its fluid state, and the heart its usual motion.

But in the second case, a person may be recovered by mere natural means, that is, by any thing that will remove the obstacle which suspends the motion of the heart; just as a pendulum recovers its motion, by the removal of a hair, a thread, or the least atom that stops its swinging.

LXII.

An application of these observations to the case of vampires.

ADMITTING now the truth of these facts, (which I think indisputable) it is not unreasonable to suppose, that the vampires of Hungary, Silesia, and Moravia, may possibly be persons who have died of acute disorders, and still retain some principle of life, just as the animals above-mentioned, and the birds which hide themselves under water in the lakes and marshes of Poland and other northern countries, continue for a long time without motion or respiration, though not without life. At the return of spring, when the water is heated by the sun, or even when they are brought near a gentle fire, they recover their powers of motion and action, and perform all the usual functions of the animal life, which had undergone a temporary suspension by cold.

In like manner, these vampires recover life after a certain time; nor does the soul take a final leave of its former tenement, till by the entire dissolution and disorder of the organs of the body, it has no means left to discharge the vital functions. Upon this principle, the inhabitants of those countries empale, behead, or burn the vampire-bodies, in order to deprive their souls effectually of all hopes of re-animating them again, and making use of them to torment the living.

We are told by Pliny*, that the soul of Hermotimus of Clazomenæ had a trick of frequently leaving his body, and, upon coming back again, would give an account of several events which

* Plin. Hist. Natur. l. vii. c. 52.

happened at a great distance, and could not possibly be known but by some one that had been present upon the spot. One day, when she was out upon a ramble, the Cantharidæ, Hérmotimus's enemies, seized his body, which lay with scarce any signs of life, and burnt it, and by this means deprived the soul of its old sheath: *Donec cremato corpore inimici (qui Cantharidæ vocabantur) remeanti animæ velut vaginam ademerint.*

Origen undoubtedly learnt from the ancient heathens his notion^f, that the soul, though of an incorporeal and spiritual nature, yet upon quitting its terrestrial body, assumes a subtile vehicle, of the same form with its former gross tenement; and that the soul makes use of this subtile body by way of sheath or case, and sometimes appears with it near the grave where the other is deposited. He founds his opinion upon what is said in the Gospel concerning the rich man and Lazarus^g, who must both have had bodies of some sort, since they see and speak to one another, and the rich man asks for a drop of water to cool his tongue. I will not answer for the conclusiveness of this argument; but I cannot help observing, that his notion of a subtile body, of the same form and lineaments with the terrestrial body which invested the soul during life, is entirely conformable to the ancient opinion mentioned above.

That the bodies of such as die of violent disorders, or are executed in full health, or are only in a swoon, should vegetate in their graves; that their hair, beard, and nails should grow, that they should be full of blood, pliant and flexible, attended with no bad smell, and should perform the

^f Origen de Resurr. Fragment. t. i. p. 35. nov. edit. & contra Celsum, l. vii. p. 697. ^g Luke xvi. v. 24, & seq.

usual excretions; these are not the circumstances which are most perplexing, since they may be accounted for by the vegetation of the human body. Even the stories of their devouring whatever is next them, may be admitted as the effects of that fury, which must necessarily transport persons buried alive, at their recovery from a state of insensibility.

But the principal difficulty is to account for the vampires coming out of their graves to torment the living, and going into them again. For this particular is mentioned in every story of this sort as a certain fact, but no account is given of the manner or circumstances of it, which, however, is the most interesting part of the whole transaction. How a body, buried four or five feet under ground, having no room to move or stir, wrapped close in a shroud, and nailed up in boards, can extricate itself from all these obstacles, come again above ground, and produce the effects which are commonly talked of, and after that return to its former state, get under the earth again, and be there found entire, found full of blood, and in all respects like a living body; these are difficulties not easily solved. For it will scarce be said, that these bodies penetrate through the earth, without discomposing its surface, as water or dew soke through it, and leave no marks of their passage. In short, it were to be wished, that the relations which have been transmitted to us concerning vampires, had explained these particulars in a more satisfactory manner.

LXIII.

Marks of vampirism in church-yards.

THE most particular information that I have been able to get upon this head, is, that when a place is infested with vampires, they go to the church-yard, and examine the graves; and wherever there are two, or three, or more ^a holes, about the size of a man's finger, they dig to the bottom, and never miss finding a body with all the marks of vampirism. Some perhaps may imagine, that these holes in the earth contribute to preserve some degree of vegetable life, and respiration, in the vampire that lies below, and consequently make his coming again seem less incredible. But I cannot think that this notion has the least probability.

There is a story told by Bartholinus ⁱ, an author whom I have quoted above, (and he takes it from a book writ by an old forceress, named Lendela, which was never printed) of a man, named Harpye, who ordered his wife to bury him exactly at the kitchen door, that he might see what went on in the house. After his death, the woman executed her commission punctually; and soon after he appeared to several in the neighbourhood, killed the people that were at work, and played so many other mischievous pranks, that no one would venture to live any longer in the village. At last, a man, named Olaus Pa, took courage, and ran at the spectre with a lance, which he drove into its body, and left sticking in the wound. The spectre

^a This account was given me by general de Grun, at Remiremont, in the year 1744.

ⁱ Bartholin. de Causâ contemptus mortis, l. ii. p. 268.

instantly vanished, and next morning Olaus got the grave opened, and found his lance in the dead body of Harpye, which was not yet corrupted. Upon this, they dragged the carcase out of the grave, burnt it, and threw its ashes into the sea, and the spectre was no more heard of.

In this instance it is evident, that the body really came out of the grave, and was a substantial vulnerable body, since the lance was found in the wound. Now the difficulty to be accounted for is, how it came out of the grave, and returned into it again. For there is nothing wonderful in the circumstances either of the lance or the wound, since it is a common case for wizards and witches that have changed themselves into dogs, cats, or wolves, to bear in their human shape, and in the same part of their bodies, the wounds which they have received in their bestial state.

But if we suppose that their bodies do not really stir out of their graves, and that nothing but a mere fantom is seen, the difficulty lies in accounting for the production of this phantom, from what cause it derives its power of acting, and by what it is animated; whether by the soul of the deceased, which has not yet quitted its former mansion, or by some devil, which provides a borrowed, visionary body. But if the body be only a delusive, unreal mockery, whence come the wounds which are found in the real carcase? And besides all these difficulties, we are still embarrassed with the general one, whether these apparitions are natural or miraculous?

LXIV.

Whether the devil has a power of subtilising and spiritualising a dead body?

IF none of the above solutions are thought satisfactory, it remains to enquire, whether the devil may not have subtilised these bodies to such a degree, as to make them capable of passing through the earth, without discomposing the situation of its parts, of slipping through a key-hole, or the crannies of a door? Whether he may not have given them a sort of fluidity like that of water or air; or rather, have endued them with those properties, which we suppose will be communicated to beatified bodies after the resurrection, and which our Saviour's body actually had, after he rose from the dead; since he was seen only by those to whom he thought proper to appear, and *stood in the midst of his disciples, when the doors were shut*.*

But if we should admit the devil to have a power of re-animating dead bodies, and enduing them with motion for a certain time, will it follow from thence, that he can lengthen, diminish, and rarefy the bodies of these spectres, so as to enable them to insinuate themselves through the earth, or to pass through windows and doors? There is no evidence for his having received this power from God, and it is even inconceivable that a gross, material body, can receive such a degree of subtilty and spirituality, without destroying entirely the configuration of its several parts, and the disposition of its whole frame: which would totally defeat the devil's purposes, and incapacitate

* John xx. 26.

him for the whole business of vampirism; since he could neither appear, act, or speak in a human form, nor be cut in pieces and burnt, according to the established ways of proceeding in all the vampire countries. These difficulties continue also in full force in the above-mentioned case of excommunicated persons, said to come out of their graves, and quit the church, in the face of the whole congregation.

Upon the whole, we must shut up our researches into this abstruse subject in respectful silence, since it has not pleased God to reveal to us either the extent of the devil's power, or the manner how these things are brought about. And we shall acquiesce the more readily in our ignorance, by reflecting, that there are many phænomena in nature, nay even in our own bodies, of the causes and operations of which we know no more than of these supernatural events.

LXV.

Whether these phænomena can be accounted for by a fascination of the senses?

THERE are some who have recourse to a fascination of the senses as a sufficient explanation of all the stories of apparitions; but they certainly involve themselves in greater difficulties, than those who honestly admit the reality of these events. For by fascination must be meant either a suspension of the power of seeing (like that of the inhabitants of Sodom¹, who could not find the door of Lot's house, though it was just before their eyes; or that of the disciples at Emmaus, of whom it is said, that *their eyes were*

¹ Gen. xix. 11.

bolden, that they should not know ^m our Saviour; or it must mean a representation of an object to the senses, different from what it is in fact, like that of the Moabites ⁿ, who fancied they saw the water red with the blood of the Israelites, or that of the Syrian soldiers ^o, who were sent to apprehend Elisha, and were led by him into the midst of Samaria, without knowing either the prophet, or the city. But both these sorts of fascination are evidently beyond the common ordinary powers of human nature, and therefore cannot be effected by the unassisted operations of any human agent. If it be asked, whether they are also beyond the ordinary powers of an angel or devil; the only proper answer is a confession of our ignorance, and of the necessity of suspending our judgment in these arduous points.

There is yet another species of fascination, which consists in the production of some mischievous effect, by the sight of a particular person or thing, or by being praised or envied: and the ancients were particularly careful to defend their children against it, by hanging a sort of preservatives, or amulets, round their necks. In illustration of this point, it were easy to produce a variety of passages from the Greek and Latin writers; and I am informed, that even to this day there are several parts of Christendom where the efficacy of these fascinations is firmly believed. However, these three things are indisputable; first, that the virtue of these imaginary fascinations is extremely uncertain; secondly, that supposing it were certain, it is very difficult, not to say impossible, to account for it; and thirdly, that it cannot with any pro-

Luke xxiv. 16.

ⁿ 2 Kings iii. 23.

^o 2 Kings vi. 18.

priety, be applied to the case of apparitions or vampires.

LXVI.

Difficulties arising from the circumstance of the vampires giving no account of what they have seen in the other world, supposing them to have been really dead.

IF these vampires are not really raised to life again, nor their bodies refined and spiritualised, as I flatter myself I have shewn they are not, and if our senses are not deceived by any fascination, I am afraid we shall have nothing left, but to deny absolutely, that they ever come again, or to suppose them to be only in a state of sleep, or stupefaction. For if they are really raised to life again, and the common reports of their speaking, acting, conversing, and sucking the blood of the living, are true, they cannot but know what passes in the other world, and they certainly ought to let their relations and friends into the secret, instead of tormenting and putting them to death. And yet we never read that they do the former, but are generally guilty of the latter.

In like manner, we do not read, that any of the persons recorded in Scripture to have been raised to life, such as Lazarus¹, or the widow of Nain's son², or the son of the woman of Shunem³, or the dead man who revived upon touching the bones of Elisha⁴, made any discoveries of the state of departed souls in the other world.

¹ John xi. 14.

² Luke vii. 11, 12.

³ 2 Kings iv. 25.

⁴ 2 Kings xiii. 21.

In the Gospel * indeed, the rich man desires Abraham to send to his father's house, to testify unto his brethren, lest they also should come into that place of torment. But he is answered, *They have Moses and the prophets; let them hear them.* And upon the rich man's urging farther, that if one went unto them from the dead, they would certainly repent, Abraham answers, *If they hear not Moses and the prophets, neither will they be persuaded, though one rose from the dead.*

But there are several instances of heathens, and some of Christians, who, upon their return from the other world, have made no secret of the transactions there, but have given an ample account of all that they have heard and seen.

LXVII.

Instances of heathens who have related what they saw in the other world.

I Have already made some mention of the case of Eros of Pamphylia^u, who being wounded in a battle, was found among the slain ten days after, and carried home without sense or motion. Two days after this, as his body was just going to be laid upon the funeral pile, he came to himself, and begun to speak and give a relation of the manner in which men are judged in the other world, with a description of the rewards of the good, and the punishment and torments of the wicked.

His account was, that his soul, as soon as it was separated from the body, arrived, in company with many others, at an agreeable place, where they saw two great openings for the admission of

* Luke xvi. 27.

^u Plat. l. x. de Rep. p. 614.

those that came from earth, and two others which led to heaven. Here he saw the judges examining all that came from this world, and sending those that had lived well to an high place on the right hand, and those that had been guilty of great crimes into a sort of hole on the left. Each of them had a label affixed to his back, inscribed with his good and bad actions, as the reason of his condemnation or acquittal.

When Eros's turn came, the judges told him, that he must return back upon earth, in order to publish the transactions of the other world, and had him observe every thing attentively, that he might make a faithful report. He was therefore admitted to see the torments of the wicked, which were to last for a thousand years, and the happy state of the righteous; and was informed, that their respective rewards and punishments were in a tenfold proportion to their virtues and vices. Among others, he observed particularly, that the judges asked for one Andæus, a Pamphylian, famous for his tyranny and other crimes: but they were answered, that he was not yet come, nor would come at all. And accordingly Andæus having with much labour and difficulty got to one of the openings above-mentioned, he was pushed back again to the society of the wicked, where they were tormented together in a great variety of ways, and repelled as often as they made any effort to escape.

He saw, moreover, the three Parcæ, Lachesis, Clotho, and Atropos, daughters of Necessity or Fate; the first of which presided over things past, the second over things present, and the third over things to come. All souls were obliged to appear before these three goddesses, and Lachesis threw a number of lots into the air, of which every soul caught one; but this hindered no one from

from leading his life conformably to the laws of justice and reason.

Eros added, that he saw several souls attempting to enter into the bodies of other animals. Orpheus, for instance, out of hatred to the female sex, by whom he was murdered, entered into a swan, and Thamyras into a nightingale. Ajax, the son of Telamon, chose the body of a lion, out of indignation to the injustice of the Greeks, who refused to award him the arms of Achilles, to which he pretended an undoubted right. Agamemnon, vexed at the cross accidents which he had met with in life, pitched upon the body of an eagle. Atalanta, charmed with the honours of an athletic life, chose that profession. Thersites, the most deformed of the human race, entered into a monkey; and Ulysses, sick of the hardships he had endured upon earth, desired to live a private, undisturbed life. He was long searching after a lot for this purpose, and at last found it lying neglected upon the ground, and picked it up with joy.

Eros reported also, that the souls of beasts sometimes entered into the bodies of men; and that, on the contrary, the souls of wicked men were doomed to inhabit fierce and savage beasts, but the souls of the righteous entered into some domestick animals. After these several transmigrations, Lachesis assigned to each person a guardian, to conduct him through the course of his life.

After this, Eros was conducted to the river of Oblivion, which effaces the memory of all things; but he was not suffered to taste it. The conclusion of his narration was, that he came again to life, but knew not in what manner.

The moral which Plato draws from this apologue or fable, as he himself calls it, is, that the soul is immortal, and that, in order to arrive at

happiness, we must practise virtue upon earth, which will lead to glory in heaven, where we are promised a state of beatitude to last for a thousand years.

We see from this story, that it is possible for a man to live a considerable time, without shewing any signs of life: that the Greeks believed in the transmigration of souls, in a state of happiness for the good, and punishment, of a thousand years duration, for the wicked; that they looked upon destiny as consistent with a freedom of doing either good or ill, and assigned to all men a genius or guardian angel. Add to this a future judgment, and the reception of good souls into a place which they called the Elysian Fields.

LXVIII.

The traditions of the heathens, relating to another life, were derived from the Jews and Egyptians.

WHAT the traditions of the heathens upon this article were, may be easily gathered from Homer and Virgil, and the other Greek and Latin authors. That they were derived from the Hebrews and Egyptians, but more particularly the latter, from whom the Greeks borrowed their religion, and afterwards adapted it to their own taste, is, I think, indisputable. In the writings of the Hebrews, we meet with frequent mention of *Rephaim*, or giants; who are described in the book of Job ^x, as *groaning under the waters*. In the book of Proverbs ^y, they are mentioned as the inhabi-

^x Job xxvi. 5. The Vulgate renders it; *Ecce gigantes gemunt sub aquis*, which translation the author follows.

^y Proverbs ix. 18. The Vulgate translation is, *Et ignoravit quod ibi sint gigantes*.

tants of hell. In Isaiah's ^a description of the downfall of the king of Babylon, hell is represented as meeting him at his coming, and stirring up the Rephaim for him, who shall speak and say unto him, *Art thou also become weak as we? Art thou become like unto us?* So also in Ezekiel's ^a description of the destruction of Assyria. *In the day when he went down to the grave, I caused a mourning, I covered the deep for him, and I restrained the floods thereof.*—*Yet shalt thou be brought down with the trees of Eden unto the nether parts of the earth; thou shalt lie in the midst of the uncircumcised, with them that be slain with the sword.* And in the Gospel ^b there is said to be a great gulph fixed between the respective abodes of Lazarus and the rich man.

The Egyptian word *Amenthes*, that is to say, the receiver and giver, is their name for what the Greeks called *Hades*; and their notion was, that Amenthes received the souls of men at their death, and restored them to them again upon their coming into the world: that the soul, immediately after death, transmigrates successively into the bodies of other animals: the first stage is a terrestrial animal, the second an aquatic one, the next a bird, till having animated every species of animals in their turns, it enters again into a human body, after the expiration of three thousand years. It is from the Egyptians that Homer and Orpheus derived their opinion of the immortality of the soul, and the idea of the grotto of the nymphs, as described by Homer, who represents it as having two gates, one at the north end, through which souls enter into the cavity, and the other at the south, through which they come out of it.

^a Isaiah xiv. 9. & seq. Infernus—Suscitavit tibi gigantes. Vulg.

^a Ezek. xxxi. 15.

^b Luke xvi. 26.

LXIX.

Instances of two heathens, named Thespeus and Gabienus, who came to life again, and made wonderful discoveries.

ONE Thespeus, a native of Soli in Cilicia, well known to Plutarch^c, having led a very debauched life, and being reduced to great necessity, set himself upon all sorts of scandalous employments, in order to gain a livelihood, and managed so well, that he scraped together some wealth, but entirely lost his reputation. Having sent to consult the oracle of Amphilochous, he was answered, that matters would be better with him after his death. Soon after he fell from the top of a house, broke his neck, and died. Three days after, when he was just going to be buried, he came to life again, and from that time there was such a change in his manners, that there was no man in all Cilicia who had a better character for piety, integrity, and honour.

Upon his being asked the reason of so extraordinary an alteration, he said, that at the instant of his fall, he was affected in the same manner as a man is that falls from the deck of a ship into the sea: that after this, his soul was carried up into the region of the stars, where he admired the astonishing magnitude and wonderful beauty of the heavenly orbs: that he learnt, that all souls, after their separation from the body, are hoisted up into the air, and shut up in a sort of fiery globe, or vortex; that when they go from hence, some fly up aloft with incredible rapidity, and others are whirled about in the air, and agitated different

^c Plutarch. de iis qui serò a numine puniuntur.

ways, sometimes upwards, and sometimes downwards. The greater number appeared to him to be in great distress, by their lamentable shrieks and howlings: the rest, who were fewer in number, flew up aloft, and enjoyed great happiness in the society of congenial spirits. Upon the whole, he learnt, that *Adraستا*, the daughter of Jupiter and necessity, leaves no crime unpunished, but treats every man according to his deserts. He enters into a very minute detail of several particulars, and enumerates the various punishments inflicted upon the wicked in the other world. He adds, that a person of his acquaintance, whom he met there, said to him, You are not dead, but your soul is permitted by God to come to this place, and has left all her faculties in your body. At last he was sent back to his body through a sort of canal, and pushed forward by an impetuous wind.

There are two circumstances in this relation which furnish matter for reflection: the first is, the soul's quitting the body for three days, and then returning to animate it again: the second is, the truth of the oracle which promised Thespisus a happier life after death.

In the Sicilian war^d, Gabienus, one of the commanders of Cæsar's fleet, being taken prisoner by Sex. Pompey, was beheaded by his orders. His body continued upon the sea-shore the whole day, with the head held on only by a single fibre. In the evening, he desired that Pompey, or some other of his friends might be sent for, because he came from the other world, and had something of consequence to communicate. Pompey, hearing this, sent several persons to him, to whom Gabienus declared, that Pompey's cause and party were favoured by the god of the infernal regions, that

^d Plin. Hist. Nat. l. vii. c. 52.

he should certainly succeed in his designs, and that he (Gabienus) was commissioned to tell him so; and as a proof, added he, of the truth of what I say, I shall expire immediately, which he did. But Pompey's party did not come off victorious, as this messenger promised; but, on the contrary, was forced to submit to Cæsar. Indeed, the god of the infernal regions, that is to say, the devil, found his own account in it, in having so many unhappy persons made a sacrifice to revenge and ambition.

LXX.

Instances of Christians raised to life, and sent back again into this world.

WE are told by an ancient author*, who wrote about St. Augustin's time, that an inhabitant of the city of Uzal in Africa being crushed to death by a wall's falling upon him, his wife, while things were getting ready for his funeral, ran to St. Stephen's church, and implored the interposition of the saint, when immediately the man was observed to open his eyes, and move his body. Soon after he sat upright, and told them that his soul, upon quitting his body, met with a great company of departed souls, some of whom he knew, but not all: that a young man, in a deacon's habit, coming into the room, drove away the other souls, and said to him three times, "Restore what you have received." At last he found out, that the deacon meant the Creed, which he immediasely repeated, and also the Lord's prayer: and that then the deacon (who was no other than St. Stephen

* Lib. i. de Miraculis Sancti Stephani, c. iv. p. 28. t. vii. Oper. Sti. Aug. in Appendice.

himself)

himself) made the sign of the cross over his heart, and bad him rise in perfect health.

A young^f catechumen, who had been dead about three days, being raised to life by the prayers of St. Martin, gave an account of his appearing before the great tribunal, and being condemned to a dark region, in company with many more; but that two angels rose up in his defence, and represented to the judge, that St. Martin had interceded in his behalf. Upon this, the judge ordered the angels to carry him back to the other world, and restore him to St. Martin. The command was punctually executed, and the young man was baptised, and lived many years after.

St. Salvi, bishop of Abby^g, being seized with a violent fever, and taken for dead, was laid upon a bier in his pontifical habit, where a solemn service was performed over him, which lasted the whole night. The next morning he was observed to move, and soon after he awoke as from a deep sleep, and lifting up his hands towards heaven, cried out, Ah! Lord, why hast thou sent me back into this vale of misery? He said no more at that time, but rose in perfect health. A few days after, he gave an account of his being carried up to heaven by two angels, where he saw all the glories of paradise, and was sent back, much against his will, to live longer upon earth. St. Gregory of Tours, who gives us this account, calls God to witness, that he had it from St. Salvi's own mouth.

^f Sulpit. Sever. in Vita. St. Martini.

^g Gregor. Taron. l. viii. c. 1.

LXXI.

A vision of Vetin, a monk of Augie.

A MONK of Augie-la-Riche, named Vetin or Guetin, who lived in the year 824, being very ill, and lying one day on his bed, with his eyes shut, but not asleep, saw the devil in a most hideous form, dressed in an ecclesiastical habit, come into the room, holding in his hand several instruments of torture, and threatening the monk that he should soon feel them. The devil was followed by a multitude of other evil spirits, bringing with them such tools as are usually made use of in building tombs. Soon after this, there came in several serious, grave personages, in religious habits, who drove away the devils. The next that appeared was an angel, encompassed with rays of light, who came to the foot of the bed, and conducted Vetin through an agreeable road to a place situated among mountains of an extraordinary height, at the bottom of which there ran a large river, in which a multitude of damned souls were suffering divers tortures, in proportion to the nature and enormity of their crimes. Among them he observed some whom he knew, and particularly several wicked prelates and priests, who were tied by the back to stakes, and roasted over large fires. Over-against them, the women, who had been their accomplices, suffered the same punishment.

He took notice also of an avaricious monk, whose crime was heaping up money as his private property, punished by being shut up in a leaden coffin till the day of judgment. He observed also several abbots and bishops, and even the emperor

Charlemagne himself, expiating their crimes by fire, and expecting deliverance after the expiration of a certain term. He had also a sight of the mansions of the blessed, where each was ranked according to his respective merit. The angel then declared to him what crimes were most offensive to God, and most common among men; and mentioned Sodomy in particular as a most detestable sin. When the nightly service was over, the abbot came to visit Vetin, who related to him his vision, and the abbot had it writ down from his mouth. Vetin lived two days after this, and having foretold that he should not outlive the third, he recommended himself to the prayers of his brother monks, received the blessed sacrament, and died in peace on the 31st of October, in the year 824.

LXXII.

A vision of Berthold, related by Hincmar of Rheims.

THE famous Hincmarⁱ, archbishop of Rheims, in a pastoral letter addressed to his suffragan bishops and faithful of his diocese, relates the case of one Berthold, who falling sick, and having received all the sacraments, lay four days without taking any nourishment. On the fourth day he was so weak, that the motion of his pulse was scarce distinguishable. At midnight he called his wife, and bade her send immediately for his confessor, who was no sooner come into the court, but Berthold cried out, *Bring a chair immediately, for the priest is coming.* When the priest was come, he repeated the usual prayers, to which Berthold made the proper responses, and then told him his

ⁱ Hincmar. t. ii. p. 805.

vision. At my first leaving this world, says he, I saw forty-one bishops, among whom were Ebbo, Leopardellus, and Eneas, clothed in black, ragged habits, extremely dirty, and scorched by the fire; and they themselves were this moment burnt with fire, and the next froze with insufferable cold. Upon Ebbo's desiring him to go to his clergy, and other friends, and desire them to offer the blessed sacrifice in his behalf, Berthold obeyed, and at his return to the place where he had seen the bishops, he found them well clad, shaved and washed, and full of joy.

A little farther on he saw king Charles*, who seemed to be almost devoured with worms; and received a commission from him to apply to Hincmar for assistance in his distress; and upon Hincmar's saying mass for him, the king was relieved. He next saw Jessé, bishop of Orleans, laying across a well, attended by four devils, who plunged him first into boiling pitch, and then threw him into cold water; and he also was relieved by having prayers said in his behalf. He next saw count Otharius, who was also in a state of torment; and Berthold earnestly recommended it to his wife, and tenants, and friends, to say prayers, and give alms for his deliverance. After this, Berthold received the communion, and found himself growing much better; and from this time he entertained hopes of living fourteen years longer, as the angel who conducted him about, and shewed him all these sights, promised he should.

* Probably Charles the Bald, who died in 875.

LXXIII.

A vision of St. Fursi.

IN the life of St. Fursi¹, wrote soon after his death, which happened about the year 653, we have an account of several of his visions. Once in particular being dangerously ill, and not able to stir, he had a vision, in which he seemed to be supported over a place of darkness by three angels, who carried him out of the world, and then brought him back again, and made his soul return again into his body, to accomplish the work for which God had appointed him. At his awaking, he found himself surrounded by several persons, who were lamenting his death, and told him, that the evening before he had swooned away on a sudden, so that they took him for dead. He expressed a great desire of having some intelligent persons about him, to whom he might relate what he had seen; but being attended only by ignorant rusticks, he received the holy communion, and lived three days longer.

On the Tuesday following he fell into another swoon in the middle of the night, and his feet grew quite cold. His hands were lifted up in a praying posture, and he prepared himself for death with great tranquillity. Then he saw the same three angels, who had conducted him before, come down and carry him up into the air; but instead of the agreeable musick which he had heard in his former voyage, he was entertained with nothing but the hideous howlings of devils, who

¹ Vita S. Fursii apud Bol- Vide Sæculum II. Bene-
land. 16 Januar. p. 37, 38. dict. p. 399.
Irem. p. 47, 48.

began to fight with him, and pelt him with fiery darts; but the angel took them all in his shield, and extinguished them. The devils then began to charge Fursi with wicked thoughts, and other human frailties; but the angels undertook his defence, saying, if he is not guilty of any capital sins, he shall not be damned.

The devil not being able to accuse him of any thing that deserved eternal damnation, Fursi was accosted by two saints of his own country, St. Bean and St. Medan, who foretold to him the calamities which God would inflict upon mankind, for the sins of the princes and pastors of the church; the former in giving the people bad examples, and the latter for neglecting to preach the word of God; and after this, they sent him back into his body.

The saint came to his old tenement with great reluctance, and began to relate all the particulars he had seen. In order to recover him perfectly, they threw cold water upon his body, and he felt a great heat between his shoulders. After this, he preached all over Ireland, and venerable Bede says^m, that there was an old monk in his monastery, who had these particulars from a person of great credit, who received them from St. Fursi's own mouth; and it is added, that the saint himself was fully convinced, that his soul was actually separated from his body in these extatic fits.

■ Bede, l. iii. Hist. c. 19.

LXXIV.

A vision of a Protestant in Yorkshire.

THE following story is told of a Protestant^m, and happened in the year 1698. The minister of the parish of Hipley in Yorkshire, named Henry Watts, being seized with an apoplexy on the 15th of August, was put into his coffin on the 17th, and carried out to be buried: but as he was just going to be put into the grave, he gave a great shriek, which frightened all that attended the funeral. However, he was taken out of the coffin, and when he came to himself, related many surprising particulars, which, he said, had been revealed to him during his trance, which lasted 48 hours; and on the 24th of the same month, he made a most pathetick discourse to those that had attended him to the grave.

There are some, perhaps, who will treat these accounts as mere fables and whimsies. But it is evident, that they all agree in the belief of the great articles of heaven, hell, and purgatory; of the efficacy of prayers for the dead, of the apparition of angels, and of the existence of devils, who are appointed to torment both the souls that are in a state of eternal damnation, and those that are to undergo only a temporary punishment for the expiation of less heinous offences.

^m Larrey, Hist. de Louis XIV. an. 1698, p. 98.

LXXV.

Conclusion of this Dissertation.

I Come now to recapitulate in a few words the substance of the foregoing Dissertation, which is, that I have there shewn at large,

First, That a resurrection, properly so called, of a person who has been dead for any considerable time, and whose body is already corrupted and stinking; or even just going to putrefy, (as in the case of Peter, who was raised to life by St. Stanislaus, after he had been buried three years, or that of Lazarus, who had been dead four days, and began to stink) that such a resurrection can be effected only by the almighty power of God.

Secondly, That persons who have lain long under water, or are fallen into a swoon, lethargy, or trance, or are supposed to be dead from any other cause, may be recovered and restored to life, to motion, and to health, without the intervention of any thing miraculous, but by the sole power of medicine, or even by waiting patiently till nature recovers of her own accord; by the heart's resuming its former motion, the blood flowing freely through the veins and arteries, and the animal spirits through the channels of the nerves.

Thirdly, That all the stories concerning oupires, or vampires, in Moravia, Hungary, Poland, and other countries, though related with the most minute particularity of circumstances, and supported with such a weight of evidence, as would be admitted for proof by the most scrupulous courts of justice; in short, that all the reports of their coming to life again, their appearing and disturbing whole cities and villages, their putting people

to

to death, by sucking their blood, or giving them signs to follow them, are nothing but mere illusion, and the effects of strong and inveterate prejudices. The maintainers of the reality of these accounts cannot produce the evidence of one sensible, serious, and unprejudiced man, who will say, that he has seen, touched, spoke to, or any how examined into the case of these vampires, or will assert the truth of their coming again, and producing the effects which are ascribed to them.

At the same time, it cannot be denied, that many people have died of a fright, by fancying they have seen their deceased relations summoning them to the other world. Others have imagined, that they have heard noises at their doors; and various kinds of hauntings and disturbances from spirits have been firmly credited; and all these persons being examined before a court of justice, have deposed, that they actually saw and heard things that existed only in their own imagination. This, however, does not affect the point in question. What we want is unprejudiced witnesses, free from fear, interest, or passion, who will seriously assert, after mature deliberation, that they have seen, heard, or spoke to these vampires, and been witnesses of their exploits; and I am convinced that such as these we shall never have.

LXXVI.

Uncertainty of all the stories about vampires.

ACCORDINGLY I have been assured by a person of the most improved understanding, and of unquestionable veracityⁿ, that Lewis XV,

ⁿ The marquis de Beauveau, who died at the siege of Ypres in 1744.

being desirous to know the truth of these reports, gave orders to the duke of Richelieu, his ambassador at the court of Vienna, to examine carefully into the affair, and to send him an account of what he could collect from the original records of these vampire-transactions. The duke executed his commission with the utmost exactness, and informed the king that nothing appeared to him more indisputable than these accounts. The unbelieving party, however, was not satisfied with this, but desired the king that the ambassador might be ordered to make further enquiries upon the spot. The duke obeyed the order, and his second report was, that he found more of prejudice and whim than of truth in this whole business of redivivi, or vampires. In consequence of this, there are now two parties at the court of Vienna, one of which holds the truth of these apparitions, and the other rejects the whole as mere whim and fancy.

I have also by me a letter, writ to me from Warsaw the 3d of February, 1745, by the reverend father Sliwiski, visitor of the province of the fathers of the Polish mission, informing me, that he had studied this point with great attention, and collected materials for writing a physical and theological dissertation upon this subject, but that his office of visitor and superior of the monastery of his order at Warsaw, allowed him no time to execute his design: that he has lately searched for these papers in vain, and imagines that they are still in the hands of some one to whom he gave a sight of them: and that there were among them two resolutions of the Sorbonne, prohibiting the cutting off the head, and misusing the body of these pretended vampires. He adds, that these decisions may be found in the register of the Sorbonne, between the years 1700 and 1710.

He

He says farther, that in Poland they are so fully convinced of the existence of vampires, as to look upon those that deny it as little better than heretics. They have a great number of facts which they think indisputable, and bear down all contradiction with a vast cloud of witnesses. "I myself," says this wise and judicious priest, "have taken the pains of going to the bottom of this affair, and of examining every one that I have heard quoted as a witness in the cause. But I could not find a single person that would venture to affirm he had been an eye-witness of any of the facts in question; and I look upon the whole as mere whims and reveries, founded upon nothing but fear and idle reports."

LXXVII.

That it is morally impossible for vampires to come out of their graves.

FOURTHLY, To the objection which I have urged above, drawn from the impossibility of vampires coming out of their graves, and going into them again, without leaving some marks that the surface of the earth has been stirred, no answer has been yet given, nor indeed ever will be. To say that the devil subtilizes or spiritualizes their bodies, is an assertion entirely destitute of proof, and even probability.

Fifthly, The fluidity of blood, the freshness of colour, and pliancy of limbs, which are always observable in vampires, are circumstances not more to be wondered at than the growing of their hair and nails, and the uncorrupted state of their bodies. It is a very common case for carcases not to putrefy, and to retain a fresh lively colour after

death; and it is particularly common with such as die of a violent or sudden death, without any previous sickness, or of certain disorders well known to physicians, which do not fix and congeal the blood, or stiffen the limbs of the dead body.

With regard to the growing of the hair and nails in uncorrupted bodies, there is nothing in it but what is easily accounted for. These bodies still retain a slow and imperceptible circulation of their juices, which produces this effect, just as onions will grow and shoot after they are taken out of the earth, and consequently can receive from thence no moisture or nourishment. The same will hold good with respect to some flowers, and may be extended to most cases which depend upon the vegetation of plants or animals.

Sixthly, The opinion which prevails among the modern Greeks, concerning the return of Broucolacks, is not better founded than that of vampires. This ridiculous notion had its rise originally, and is still kept up, by the ignorance, prejudice, and superstition of the Greeks; and I think there wants nothing but the story above quoted from M. Tournefort, to undeceive the warmest patrons of this opinion.

LXXVIII.

No proof that the dead bodies of excommunicated persons are exempted from putrefaction.

SEVENTHLY, The notion that the bodies of such as die under the sentence of excommunication do not rot, has still less evidence to support it, than the return of vampires, or Broucolacks. It is certain that the primitive church had no such opinion; and, if it were true, the whole
body

body of the Greeks, being schismaticks, and cut off from the communion of the church of Rome, must lie under this curse; which is contrary to experience and common sense. But if the Greeks pretend an exclusive right to the title of the true church, the dead bodies of all the Roman catholicks, who are separated from their communion, ought to be exempted from putrefaction. Besides, the instances alledged by the Greeks either prove nothing, or prove too much. The bodies which have been found uncorrupted, were really excommunicated, or they were not. If they were not actually and even nominally excommunicated, their unputrefied state proves nothing at all. If they were, it still remains to shew, that this phenomenon was not owing to some other cause, which it will not be easy to do.

Besides, a circumstance of so uncertain and equivocal a nature, cannot be admitted as proof in an affair of such consequence. It is a known fact, and allowed as such by both Greeks and Latines, that the bodies of saints are frequently preserved from corruption, and therefore this circumstance cannot be alledged as an evidence of the efficacy of excommunication.

Another defect in this argument is its want of universality, that is to say, it does not extend to all the cases in question. For no one will venture to assert the incorruption of every excommunicated body. In this case, all the members of the Latine church, as excommunicated by the Greeks, and all the Greeks, as excommunicated by the Latines, must partake of this exemption, which certainly is not the case: and therefore the proof is frivolous, and concludes nothing. Add to this, that there are strong reasons to suspect the truth of all the relations that are brought to support this
marvellous

marvelous property of schismatical carcasses; and I am convinced, that, upon a close examination, a great deal of falshood and illusion would be discovered.

LXXIX.

The accounts of excommunicated bodies going out of churches embarrassed with difficulties.

EIGHTHLY, Notwithstanding the great respect which I have for St. Gregory the Great, who has related several stories of the bodies of excommunicated persons going out of the church before the whole congregation, and for the other authors, who have appeared as witnesses to other facts of this nature, or rather still more incredible, I cannot but think that some circumstances of these events are dropped in the narration. It is not impossible indeed, that God may have exerted his almighty power, and wrought these miracles, in order to inspire his faithful servants with a proper respect for the censures of the church. But, without having recourse to a miraculous interposition, the thing is absolutely inexplicable.

Ninthly, All the various stories concerning dead bodies eating or chewing in their graves, are too childish and despicable to deserve a serious confutation.

Tenthly, It is a thing well known, that it is too often the case for persons to be buried before they are dead, and that all histories, as well ancient as modern, abound with instances of its truth. The design of M. Winslow's Dissertation, and of M. Bruhier's notes upon it, is to shew, that scarce any symptoms of death are absolutely to be depended upon, but some degree of stench and putrefaction

trefaction in the carcass. Accordingly, there are many instances of persons, thought dead, who have recovered, even after they have been put into the ground. There are also many disorders, in which the patient continues for a long time without speech or motion, or even sensible respiration; and many who have been looked upon as drowned, have been recovered by bleeding, and the use of other common means.

All this may serve to explain how vampires have been taken out of their graves, and have spoke, cried, shrieked, and bled afterwards; I mean, by shewing, that they were not really dead, till they were beheaded, burnt, or run through with a stake. In which respect the executioners were certainly in the wrong, since the pretence of their coming again, and doing I know not what mischief, has never been proved in so clear a manner, as to authorise these barbarities. In fact, the evidence for the apparition and turbulent behaviour of vampires and broucolacks is extremely slight, and it is not to be wondered at, that the Sorbonne should condemn the inhuman treatment offered to these wretched carcasses. It is much more surprising, that the civil power should not interpose to prevent it.

LXXX.

Magical devotements the work of the devil. Their efficacy without proof.

SEVENTHLY, As for magical devotements, fascinations, and raising of spirits, I look upon them as works of darkness, and the devil their author, if they have any thing real in them; which, however, I cannot easily believe,

at least with regard to devotements, and the raising of departed spirits. It is difficult indeed not to admit some instances of fascination or deception of the senses as true, since it is common to imagine that we see an object which has really no existence, and not to see what is actually before our eyes; and the same mistake often happens to the sense of hearing.

But to ascribe to the devil a power of putting a person to death, merely because a statue is formed of wax, and the name of that person given to the statue, with certain superstitious ceremonies, and to imagine that the person shall die by inches as the statue consumes away, is giving the devil a very extensive influence, and representing magick as a very formidable art. There is no doubt but God may, if he pleases, give a loose to the malice of this grand enemy of mankind, and permit him to do all the mischief which either he or his imps can meditate; but it is ridiculous to suppose that the will of the sovereign Lord of Nature is determined by magical ceremonies, or that a magician can set the devil at work against us, without the permission of God.

Twelfthly, The case of the herdsman of Dalhent, who gave his child to the devil, is one of those extraordinary and almost incredible stories, which we sometimes meet with in history, but which are utterly inexplicable, upon all the principles of divinity or philosophy. For the difficulty is equally great, whether we suppose it was the devil that animated the body of the child upon his coming to life again, or his former soul. Besides, by what authority did the devil take away the life of the child, and then restore it again? Is it reasonable to imagine, that God permitted it as a punishment upon the impiety of the wretched father,

father, for giving himself to the devil, in order to gratify a brutal passion? And farther, how was it possible for the father to gratify this passion with the devil, though he appeared in the form of the beloved girl? In short, I see nothing but confusion and darkness on all sides of the question, which I leave to be cleared up by a more able, or a more confident pen than mine.

LXXXI.

That the accounts given of the other world by those who have returned from thence, have been according to their own particular notions, but all agree in the fundamental articles of religion.

WE have seen that the ancient Hebrews, (that is to say, the prophets and other inspired writers) the Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans, as well heathens as Christians, all speak of the state of departed souls in a way which agrees well enough in the main, but differs widely in the manner and circumstances. The heathens, who have related their discoveries of another life by vision, extasy, or trance, (as in the cases of Eucrates, Eros, Theseus, Enarchus, and others) never fail to insert their own errors concerning the kingdom of Pluto, the transmigration of souls, the Elysian Fields, Minos, Rhadamanthus, Tantalus, Sisyphus, the bark of Charon, and the river Lethe: while Curma, Vetin, Hincmar, St. Furcy, and other Christians, talk of angels and devils, of wicked men tormented in the flames of hell, and good men enjoying eternal happiness in heaven; of souls expiating their past transgressions in purgatory, and wanting the assistance of prayers and masses to shorten their time of suffering, and advance them sooner to perfect bliss.

But

But it is to be observed, that they all agree in these essential points; that the souls of men are immortal, and that there is a wise, and just, and good being, who weighs the actions of all men, and allots them their portion in a state of eternal happiness or misery, according to their respective deserts: and that these sentiments, in whatever form they are dressed up, are found invariably and uniformly, both in sacred and profane writers.



A

DISSERTATION

CONCERNING

APPARITIONS,

OCCASIONED BY

An Event which happened at St. Maur,

In the Year 1706.

CCCCCCCC

PRELACE

DISSERTATION

CONCERNING

APPARITIONS



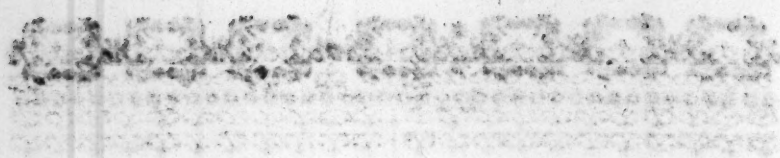
in France which happened at St. Marais

In the Year 1766.



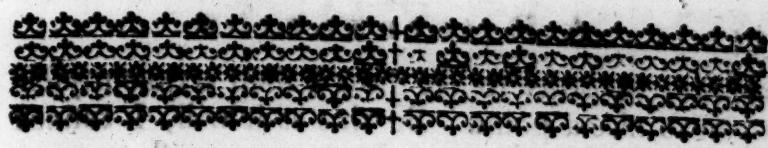
P R E F A C E.

THE event which happened at St. Maur in the month of March, 1706, has made too much noise in Paris, and even at court, for the publick not to give a favourable reception to the following short Dissertation writ upon that occasion. Besides, the subject itself is of the most interesting nature. There is no age of the world in which spirits have not been talked of; scarce a history but is full of stories of apparitions. All the old ones are swallowed implicitly by the vulgar, and new additions are daily made to the old stock. In the learned world, there are some who have not laid aside the prejudices of childhood, and consequently believe in apparitions; others reject them for no other reason but because the vulgar believe them; whilst the generality of men continue in doubt and uncertainty upon this head, and look upon this as the best side they can take, since neither Scripture nor the church have thought proper to decide the question. It were, therefore, to be wished, that some person of extensive learning would undertake to clear up the difficulties of this obscure subject; and it is with a view of persuading those who are capable of this task, that I publish the following epistolary Dissertation, which may be considered as a sketch or outline of so useful a work. This, at least, is the only motive that could have prevailed upon the author to suffer this letter, wrote only to satisfy the curiosity of a few private friends, to be made publick.



P R E F A C E

YET in a single pamphlet at St. John in the
month of March, 1796, has made too much
noise in Paris, and even at court, for the pub-
lick not to give a favourable reception to the
following Dissertation, and upon that occasion,
the author of this is at the very interesting na-
ture. There is no copy of the work in which I have
been not been asked of, I have a history but in fact
of history of opposition. All the old ones are lost,
and many of the new, and were admitted into
the library of the old library. In the learned study,
I have not been able to find out the history of the
of children, and consequently believe in opposition;
others would seem for no other reason but because the
origin of them, which the quantity of matter con-
tains in them and sometimes upon this head, and that
upon this of the old library, and that, I have not
been able to find out the history of the proper to children
the question. It was, therefore, to be wished, that
some portion of a single history, would undertake to
show us the history of the old library; and it
is with a view of perfecting it, and so are capable
of this task, that I publish the following dissertation,
which may be considered as a French or
containing of a single case. This, at least, is the only
which has been presented upon the subject to
offer this history, and only to supply the carrying of
a few private friends, to be made publick.



A
DISSERTATION
CONCERNING
APPARITIONS,

OCCASIONED BY
An Event which happened at St. MAUR,
In the Year 1706.

YOU are before-hand with me, Sir, in
your enquiries after the spirit of S. Maur,
which is so much talked of in Paris;
for I had resolv'd to send you a short
detail of all the particulars, in hopes of engaging
you to communicate to me your sentiments upon
a subject of so curious a nature, and which engages
so much of the publick attention. But after you
have read M. T.'s account of it, I am surpris'd that
you should hesitate a moment in forming your opi-
nion. Your saying that you suspend your own
judgment till you know mine, is making me so
great a compliment, that I can scarce believe you
are in earnest, and rather think it is nothing but an
artifice,

artifice, in order to see how I shall acquit myself upon so nice a point. Be this as it will, I cannot find in my heart to refuse your request, or, to speak more properly, disobey your commands; and I chuse rather to expose myself to the raillery of freethinkers, or the reproaches of the credulous, than to run the risk of displeasing you.

You desire to know, whether I think there is any such thing as a spirit's coming again; and whether the late affair at St. Maur is to be ascribed to the agency of any incorporeal being.

Now, to answer your two questions in their order, I shall first observe to you, that the ancient heathens admitted several sorts of spirits, distinguished by the names of Lares, Lamiæ, Larvæ, Lemures, Genii, and Manes.

But these notions are at present out of date; nor is any greater regard paid to the whims of our modern cabalists, who imagine every element to be inhabited by its proper spirits, the air by sylphs, the earth by gnomes, the water by undanes, and the fire by salamanders. The common opinion now is, that there are only three sorts of created spirits, namely, angels, devils, and the souls which are united to human bodies during life, and separated from them by death.

The holy Scripture makes frequent mention of angels appearing to Abraham, Jacob, Tobias, and other patriarchs and prophets; so that there can be no doubt about their existence. Besides, as their very name implies their employment, which is that of messengers of God, and executors of his commands, it is obvious to suppose, that they must frequently have appeared to men upon these errands; and it seems to be a settled point with divines, that they make use of aerial bodies for this purpose.

As

As for the manner of their assuming these aerial bodies, and modifying them so as to become objects of sight or hearing, it cannot be comprehended without having a clear idea of vision, which is performed by a representation of the visible object upon the retina of the eye. To understand which, we must suppose a number of rays of light to fall upon the object, and there to be refracted in different degrees, so as to exhibit different colours. For one degree of refraction will exhibit a red colour, another green, another blue, or yellow, and so on, as is evident from the common experiment of the prismatick glass, which will produce all the various colours of the rainbow. Now vision is performed by these refracted rays being reflected back upon the eye from the object on which they fall. But light can fall only upon three sorts of objects, or bodies, namely, transparent, opaque, and such as partake of both these properties, being partly transparent, and partly opaque. When a ray of light falls upon a transparent body, such as the air, which is full of little pores, it all passes through, and none of it is reflected. When it falls upon an opaque body, which it cannot penetrate, such as a flower, for instance, it is reflected back again, and by this means transmits the shape of the flower to the eye, marked with its proper colours. If the body on which the light falls is partly transparent and partly opaque, like glass, the light passes through the transparent parts, that is to say, the pores of the glass, and is reflected back by the opaque, that is, those parts that are not porous. Thus the air is invisible, because it reflects back none of the rays of light that fall upon it. A flower is visible, because it is impenetrable by the rays of light, and reflects them all. And the visibility of glass is owing to its having some opaque parts, which, ac-

according to the different refrangibility of the rays of light falling upon it, exhibit the appearance of various colours. In this manner vision is performed; and hence it appears, that the air, being invisible on account of its being absolutely transparent, cannot be a proper vehicle for an angel to appear in, except it be condensed in such a manner as to become opaque, and capable of reflecting the rays of light to the eye. Now as angels are endued with degrees of knowledge and power beyond our conception, it is not incredible that they may assume aerial bodies, and make them visible by this means. As for their method of furnishing these bodies with the organs necessary for forming articulate sounds, this will be best accounted for, by having immediate recourse to miracle, without puzzling ourselves with any conjectures about it.

In this manner we may conceive the angels to have appeared to the ancient patriarchs; and this same supposition of a condensed aerial body, will explain the possibility of the appearance of beatified souls, which partake much of the nature of angels. The same principles will serve for the case of the devil himself, whenever his appearance serves to promote any end of providence; as we are told that he has frequently appeared to, and tempted St. Anthony the Hermite, and other saints.

Excuse me, Sir, this short excursion into the regions of natural philosophy, which I thought necessary in order to explain how angels, which are beings of a spiritual nature, can become objects to our carnal senses.

The only particular relating to this subject in which the fathers are not agreed, is, whether angels appear to men of their own accord, or must be expressly commissioned by God. The best way
of

of clearing up this difficulty is to determine the manner in which angels arrive at the knowledge of the affairs of this lower world. For if it be by images, or ideas, daily communicated to them by God himself, as St. Augustin believes, there is no reason to doubt but they know all the wants of men, and that a bare permission from God, without an express command, is a sufficient warrant for their appearing, in order to strengthen our weakness, and relieve our distress. The same conclusion may be gathered also from the words of St. Ambrose, concerning the appearance of angels; that they are invisible by nature, but visible by choice. *Hujus naturæ est non videri, voluntatis videri* *.

As for devils, it is certain, that their power was very extensive before the coming of our Saviour, since he himself calls them *the powers of darkness, and rulers of this world*. Nor can it be doubted that they imposed upon mankind for a long time, by means of the prodigies which they enabled those to work, who dedicated themselves more immediately to their service; that many oracles were under their management, though some were kept up by the cunning of men; and that they frequently appeared in odd shapes, which they assumed by organising aerial bodies, as angels do. We are even told in Scripture, that they frequently took possession of the bodies of living persons. But our Saviour has now assured us in too express a manner, that he has destroyed the kingdom of Satan, and delivered us from his tyranny, for any one to think that they retain the same power over us which they formerly enjoyed, and which was very little short of miraculous: witness the story of the

* Comment. in S. Luc. l. i. c. i.

vestal, who, to wipe off the imputation of unchastity, carried water in a sieve without spilling it; and another, who drew up against the stream of the Tiber, with nothing but her girdle, a vessel, which was stuck so fast in the ground, that no human strength could stir it. And it is agreed by most of the fathers of the church, that the devil has no way to deceive us but by evil suggestions; and that God has left him this, in order to exercise our virtue.

I shall not throw away my time in confuting the idle stories about incubi and succubi, with which some authors have defiled their writings, or in arguing against the pretended possession of Martha Broslier, or the girls of Loudun^b, which made so much noise in Paris at the beginning of the last century. These subjects have already employed many learned pens, and it has been shewn clearly, that the devil had no hand in those transactions. The case of Broslier, in particular, is vindicated from devilism by the report of the celebrated physician Marescot, who was commissioned by the faculty of theology to examine into her miraculous feats. The expression which he made use of, may serve for a general answer in all cases of this sort: *à naturâ multa, plura ficta, à demone nulla*. That is, the constitution of this Martha Broslier, which was probably of a melancholy gloomy cast, con-

^b Martha Broslier, daughter of a tapestry-weaver at Romorantin, was cried up for a demoniac in the year 1598. See an account of her in M. de Thou's History, b. cxxiii and vol v. of the Journal of Henry III. edit. 1744, p. 206, &c. The affair of Loudun happened in the reign of

Lewis XIII. and cardinal Richelieu is accused of setting on foot this tragedy, in order to ruin Urban Grandier, the minister of Loudun. There is a very curious account of this event published, by the name of *Histoire des Diables de Loudun*, in 12mo. Amsterdam,

tributed much to her freaks; something more she counterfeited; but the devil did nothing at all.

Even the few fathers, who, like St. Thomas, attribute to the devil a more extensive power than that of suggestion, always add, that he cannot exert this power, but by the particular permission of God, and only to promote his glory, and the salvation of men.

As for all the wonderful performances which are vulgarly attributed to witchcraft, and dealing with the devil, the greatest part of them are certainly done by natural magick, which is nothing more than a knowledge of the secret effects of natural causes; and the rest are only juggle and flight of hand. Most of the fathers of the church, who have said any thing upon the subject, are of this opinion; and without hunting for passages to the same purpose in heathen authors, such as Xenophon, Athenæus, and Pliny, whose works abound with miracles of this sort, we see every day such effects produced by the loadstone, by common steel and mercury, as we should certainly attribute to witchcraft, as the ancients did, if we had not ocular demonstration of the contrary. We see also such extraordinary and seemingly supernatural performances, done by common mountebanks and jugglers, that we should be tempted to look upon them as magicians, if we did not know by experience, that bare dexterity, improved by habit and practice, is the only art which they employ.

In short, the only part which the devil acts in the criminal practices of those who are commonly called wizards, is that of suggestion, or prompting them to make use of all the methods they can find to do mischief to their neighbours.

I come

I come now to the nicest point of your enquiry, which is, whether the soul, after it is separated from the body, can come again, and appear in this world.

The philosophers of ancient times were extremely mistaken in their notions concerning the nature of the soul of man; some thinking that it was a sort of fire that animated the body, others taking it to be refined and subtile air, and others affirming it to be nothing but a proper arrangement of the whole machine of the body, which in effect was reducing us to a level with the beasts. It is not, therefore, to be wondered at, that their ideas of the state of the soul after death were very gross and rude.

The error of the Greeks, which from them was communicated to the Romans, and thence to the ancient Gauls, was, that the souls of those whose bodies were not solemnly interred by priests, with the proper ceremonies of religion, wandered about in a restless, uneasy state, and were not admitted into the infernal regions, till their bodies were burnt, and their ashes collected together. Homer makes Patroclus, who was killed by Hector, appear to Achilles in the night, and desire to be buried, for otherwise he must be deprived, he says, of the happiness of crossing the river Acheron. They held, moreover, that all souls, except the souls of those that were drowned, might come again after death; for which we find a pleasant reason in Servius, the commentator upon Virgil, who says, that it was the general opinion of the learned in Virgil's time, and, among others, of Virgil himself, that the soul was nothing but fire, which animated the body, and that this fire was totally extinguished by water. Virgil's own opinion is clearly expressed in the following line;

Ignæus

Ignæus est ollis vigor, & cælestis origo.

And a little before ;

*totamque infusa per artus
Mens agitat molem, & magno se corpore miscet.*

Meaning the general souls of the world, which he held in common with the other philosophers of that age.

Another mistaken notion of the heathens was, that the souls of such as died before their proper age, which they fixed at the utmost limits of maturity, wandered about till the time came when they ought, by the course of nature, to have been separated from the body. But Plato, who had more penetration, and was better instructed than the rest, though he held the common error, maintained that the souls of just and virtuous persons ascended up into heaven ; and that the souls of the wicked, which still retained the contagion of the gross substance of the body, wandered incessantly round about their graves, and appeared as shadows or fantoms.

But we Christians, whose religion teaches us that our souls are of a spiritual substance, that they are created by God, and united to our bodies for a certain period of time ; we, I say, know that there are three different states prepared for them after death.

The souls which enjoy eternal happiness, and are swallowed up, to use the common expression of the fathers, in the contemplation of God, have still a compassionate concern for the affairs of men, having once been partakers themselves of all the

sorrows of mortality; and being arrived to the bliss of angels, the sacred writers suppose them to have the same privilege of appearing with aerial bodies to their brethren here on earth, in order to alleviate their distresses, and instruct them in the will of God; and they have recorded several instances of God's permitting such apparitions.

As for the souls, who for their enormous crimes are condemned to that place of everlasting torment which the Scripture files hell, without the least distant hope of relief, a permission of appearing to men with borrowed bodies, would be to them entirely useless. The Scripture sufficiently intimates to us the impossibility of their coming again, by what the rich man says, when he is introduced speaking to Abraham. He does not desire to be suffered to go himself and testify to his brethren, lest they should come into that place of torment: he knows this to be impossible; but he desires Abraham to send thither Lazarus, who was in glory. And, to shew by the way the uncommonness of these apparitions of angels and beatified souls, Abraham assures him, that even Lazarus's going would be to no purpose, because they had already Moses and the prophets, and they had nothing to do but follow them.

The story of the canon of Rheims, in the eleventh century, who in the midst of the solemn service which was celebrating for the repose of his soul, cried out and said, that he was already tried and condemned, has been confuted by so many learned men*, who have shewn it to be a manifest forgery, and mentioned by no cotemporary author, that

* M. de Launoy has writ a particular dissertation, *De causâ Secessûs S. Brunonis*, in which he fully confutes this

story. Nevertheless, the event is represented in the fine paintings in the little cloister of the Carthusian monastery at Paris,

that it will scarce be quoted as an objection to my hypothesis. But were its authenticity as well established as its falshood now is, I should say without scruple, that the conversion of St. Bruno, which has been the occasion of saving so many souls, was a sufficient reason for God's working so distinguished a miracle.

Let us next enquire, whether the souls in purgatory, who are there to expiate their sins, before they are admitted into the habitations of the blessed, can come and converse with men, and desire prayers to be said for their relief.

The maintainers of the popular error have laboured hard to support it, by several passages from St. Augustin, St. Jerom, and St. Thomas. But it is certain that these fathers speak only of the coming again of beatified souls; and St. Augustin expressly says, that if it were possible for departed spirits to appear again, he should not pass a day without a visit from his mother Monica.

Tertullian, in his treatise of the soul, laughs at the folly of some in his time, who believed in apparitions. St. Chrysostom, in his comment upon the story of Lazarus, expressly denies that there is any such thing; and Johannes Andreas, the author of the Gloss upon the canon law, calls it the silly whim of a disordered imagination. The seventh chapter of Job, and the song of Hezekiah, recorded in the 38th chapter of Isaiah, abound with expressions which seem clearly to intimate, that our souls can never come again upon earth after death, or, at least, not till God has advanced them to the rank of angels.

Paris; and every one knows M. Bruyere's story of the nobleman (he means the marquis de Brancas) who asked the

Carthusian that shewed him these pictures, whether it was St. Bruno, or the canon, that was damned.

But

But to prove it still more convincingly, it may be proper to answer the principal objections of those who hold the contrary notion. Their chief arguments are drawn from the opinions of the Jews, as delivered by Josephus and the Rabbins; from the words of our Saviour to his apostles, after his resurrection; from the authority of the council of Illiberis*; from some passages in St. Jerom's treatise against Vigilantius; from the decisions of several parliaments for cancelling leases of houses, on account of their being haunted by spirits; and lastly, from a number of instances of apparitions recorded in all histories.

Now, to obviate all these difficulties in a few words, I observe first, that it cannot be concluded that the Jews believed the coming again of departed souls, because Josephus says, that the spirit which the witch of Endor raised for Saul, was the real soul of Samuel. For, besides that the prophet was certainly admitted into the number of blessed spirits, there are some circumstances in this narration which have made many of the fathers question, whether there was any apparition at all, but that the whole was a mere trick and imposition upon the king.

Nor do the accounts which the rabbins give of the ancient patriarchs, prophets, and kings, being seen by them upon mount Gerizim, prove that the Jews believed the coming again of departed souls. For, in the first place, they only mean that they had such visions in an extacy or trance, when objects that have no existence appear to be really present; and secondly, the persons who are said to have appeared, were such as the Jews themselves hold to be saints.

* This council was held at Elvira, in the kingdom of Grenada, about the year 305,

or 313. Some think that it was at Collioure in Roussillon; but they are mistaken.

What

What our Saviour says to his apostles, of a spirit's *not having flesh and bones*, is so far from proving that spirits come again, that, on the contrary, it proves they cannot become objects of sense, without a miracle, since a bodily substance and organs are absolutely necessary for this purpose. But souls are pure, immaterial substances, and consequently invisible, and not naturally objects of sense.

The provincial council of Illiberis, held in Spain in the pontificate of Sylvester the first, which forbids wax-candles to be lighted by day in the cœmeteries of the martyrs, lest the souls of the saints should be disturbed, is of no weight in this case; since, besides that these words are capable of different senses, and may even have been interpolated by a transcriber, as some learned men think, they relate to none but martyrs, whose souls are universally allowed by all Christians to be in glory.

The same answer will serve for the passages from St. Jerom; because, in his controversy with the heretick Vigilantius, who treated all the miracles wrought at the tombs of the martyrs as mere impostures, he undertakes to prove, that the saints in heaven always compassionate the miseries of men on earth, and sometimes appear visibly to comfort and strengthen them.

As for the sentences for annulling leases of houses, on account of the inconveniences which the tenants have received from spirits, a slight examination of the grounds upon which those sentences were founded will shew, that the judges have either been imposed upon by their own prejudices, or by the roguery or simplicity of witnesses, to whose evidence they are obliged to conform their decisions, sometimes against their own conviction.

The next difficulty in our way is the number of instances of apparitions recorded in all histories. But there is one on which particular stress is laid,
and

and which I therefore think myself most obliged to answer; and that is the famous Paris story, which is said to have happened in the last century, and for the truth of which they quote more than five hundred witnesses, who examined into the truth of the fact with particular attention. The event is related in the following manner by cotemporary writers.

The marquis of Rambouillet^f, elder brother of the dutchess of Montauzier, and the marquis of Precy, eldest son of the family of Nantouillet, each between 25 and 30 years old, were intimate friends, and served in the army, as most men of quality do in France. They happened one day to be talking together about the concerns of another life; and after much conversation, which did not indicate the greatest stock of faith, they gave one another a promise, that the first who died, should come and give intelligence to his friend. About three months after, the marquis of Rambouillet set out for Flanders, which was then the seat of war, and Precy was detained at Paris by a violent fever. Six weeks after, Precy, at six o'clock in the morning, heard some one draw the curtains of his bed, and turning to see who it was, discovered the marquis of Rambouillet in a buff-coat and boots. He immediately got out of bed, and would have leaped upon his neck for joy at his arrival: but Rambouillet retiring a few steps, told him, that it was no time for such demonstrations of kindness; that he was come only to perform his promise, having been killed in such an action; that what is told of the other world was certainly true, and that it was high time for him [Precy] to think of living in another manner, because he

^f This story is told above in the second Dissertation, Sect. XLVI. but too concise.

would be killed in the first action he should be engaged in. Precy's surprize at this discourse was inexpressible; however, not believing what he heard, he attempted again to embrace his friend, but grasped nothing but air. Rambouillet upon this, seeing him incredulous, threw open his coat, and shewed the wound which he had received in his reins; from which the blood still seemed to flow. After this the spectre disappeared, and left Precy in a fright, which may be more easily conceived than described. He immediately called his valet de chambre, and cried so loud, that the whole house was alarmed, and several persons came running into the room, to whom he gave an account of what he had seen; but they all attributed it to his being light-headed with the violence of his fever, and desired him to lie down quietly again. The marquis, vexed at their thinking his head was turned, related to them all the circumstances above-mentioned; but it was to no purpose that he protested he really saw and heard his friend. They continued to look upon it as an illusion, till the arrival of the mail from Flanders, which brought news of the death of the marquis of Rambouillet. This first circumstance being found true, and that Rambouillet died in the manner which Precy had mentioned, the persons to whom he told the story began to think that there might possibly be something in it, since Precy could not have intelligence of it in a natural way, Rambouillet having died only the evening before Precy had told it. The story was soon published in Paris, and looked upon universally, either as the effect of a disturbed brain, or a pure fiction; and notwithstanding all that could be said in its defence by those who had weighed it seriously, most people still entertained suspicions, which nothing but time could remove. In short,

the whole rested upon the fate of the marquis of Precy, who was threatened with death in the first action he should be at, and every one waited to see how the plot would be unravelled. But all their doubts were soon cleared up; for as soon as the marquis got rid of his disorder, the civil war broke out, and in spite of all the remonstrances of his father and mother, who were afraid of the prophecy, he would go to the battle of St. Autoine, where he was killed, to the great grief of all the family.

Now, admitting the truth of all the circumstances of this event, I have still something to offer by way of bar to the consequences which are drawn from it.

It is not difficult to conceive, that Precy's imagination might be so disturbed by his fever, and by thinking on the promise which Rambouillet and he had made, as to make him imagine he saw his friend, whom he knew to be every day in danger of being killed. The circumstances of Rambouillet's wound, and the prediction of Precy's death, are of greater weight; and yet those who are acquainted with the power of presentiments, or strong previous impressions about future events, will easily conceive it possible for the marquis of Precy, whose imagination, inflamed by the violence of his disorder, was continually attending his friend through all the dangers of war, and who expected every hour to have his death notified by his apparition, to have an impression, that the marquis of Rambouillet was killed by a musket-shot in the reins, and to know that his own ardor in battle would make him fall in the first action he should be engaged in. From a passage of St. Augustin, which I shall quote hereafter, it may be seen that that eminent father of the church was such a believer
in

in the force of imagination, as to attribute to it a knowledge of futurity; and the following most remarkable story will shew the wonderful power of what I call presentiment.

A lady of unquestionable sense and judgment, with whom I am intimately acquainted, being at Chartres, where she ordinarily resides, dreamed one night that she had a view of heaven, which she represented to herself as a magnificent hall, round which were seated, in different ranks, the angels and blessed souls, and God himself in the midst on a splendid throne. As she was admiring the beauties of this delicious place, she heard a knocking at the door, which was opened by St. Peter, and there appeared two very young children, one of which was clothed in a white robe, and the other was quite naked. St. Peter took the first by the hand, and led him to the foot of the throne, but left the other at the door, weeping bitterly. Just at this instant she awaked, and related her dream to several persons, who thought it extremely remarkable; but the mystery was soon unravelled by a letter which she received from Paris, informing her that one of her daughters was brought to bed of two children, that they were both dead, and only one of them had received baptism.

After such an instance of the power of imagination, what is there which it cannot be supposed capable of? And can it be questioned but that, among the various stories of pretended apparitions, the imagination is the sole agent in all those, which are owing neither to good angels, nor beatified souls, nor are the effect of the roguery of men?

But to account more fully for the origin of the numerous stories concerning spectres, which have prevailed in all ages of the world, without having

recourse to the ridiculous opinion of the scepticks, who doubt of every thing, and maintain that all impression upon our senses, though in never so sound a state, are false and deceitful; I observe that it is an opinion held by the most judicious philosophers, that melancholy, choler, frenzy, a fever, a weak or vitiated state of the bodily organs, whether owing to accident or original formation, will make persons imagine that they see and hear many things which have not the least real foundation.

Aristotle says[‡], that during sleep the internal senses perform their functions by means of the motion of the blood and juices, and that their action sometimes reaches to the sensitive organs, so that upon waking out of sleep, persons of the soundest judgment cannot help imagining that they see the objects which they only dreamed of.

Plutarch, in his life of Brutus, relates, that Cassius persuaded Brutus that the spectre which the latter had seen, was nothing but a creature of his imagination. The reasoning which Plutarch puts into Cassius's mouth is as follows.

“ The mind of man being naturally extremely
 “ active, is in a perpetual state of motion, and
 “ therefore always hatching some new fancy. But
 “ persons of a melancholy habit like you, Brutus,
 “ have a peculiar faculty of forming ideas in their
 “ imagination in so lively a manner, as not to be
 “ distinguished easily from such objects as really
 “ affect the outward senses.”

It is the opinion of Galen, who had a most accurate knowledge of all the properties of the human body, that spectres are owing to an extraordinary acuteness of the senses of seeing and hear-

‡ Aristot. de Somn. & Vigil.

ing; and there is a story in Cardan, which seems to confirm Galen's hypothesis. That author says, that being once at Milan, there was a report spread that an angel appeared in the air, and that he ran instantly to the place, and saw the angel himself, in company with more than two thousand persons besides. The strangeness of the sight filled every one with amazement, till a lawyer who happened to come by, having considered it with attention, shewed them plainly that it was nothing but the impression of the statue of an angel, which stood upon the top of St. Gothard's church, made upon a thick cloud by the beams of the sun then shining upon it, and reflected back to the eye. If the thing had not been cleared up in this manner by an unprejudiced person, it would have passed for gospel, that it was a real angel, seen by more than two thousand people at once.

The celebrated du Laurent, in his treatise of melancholy, attributes to it the most surprising effects, and relates a number of instances in proof of his opinion, which seem to exceed the ordinary powers of nature.

St. Augustin being consulted by Evodius, bishop of Uzal, upon the subject now before us, answers in these words. "With regard to visions, even those in which future events have been discovered, it is impossible to account for them, without knowing previously by what means the mind performs the operation of thinking. For it is evident, that there are raised in the mind certain ideas, which represent the objects that have made impressions upon our eyes, or other senses: we feel experimentally every day, and every hour, that this is the case." And a little after he adds, by way of example. "In the very instant of my dictating this letter, I see you with the eyes of

“ my mind, though you are not present, nor know
“ any thing of the matter ; and I can figure to
“ myself the impression which my words will have
“ upon your mind, without knowing or compre-
“ hending in any degree how these ideas are ex-
“ cited.”

I believe, Sir, you will not require of me any thing more express than these words of St. Augustin, to persuade you that most apparitions, not excepting even those which have discovered things seemingly not knowable in a natural way, may be attributed to strength of imagination ; and you will excuse my not attempting to explain how the imagination works these wonders, since this venerable father confesses, that he himself cannot comprehend it, though he is fully convinced of its truth.

I shall only say, that the blood, which circulates incessantly through the veins and arteries, being purified and warmed in the heart, its subtler parts, which we call animal spirits, fly off in thin vapours, and being carried into the cavities of the brain, communicate motion to that little gland which is generally thought to be the seat of the soul, and by this means awaken and excite the ideas of things formerly heard or seen, which lie buried in that repository, and so form that internal reasoning which we call thought. Hence it is that other animals have the faculty of retaining former impressions as well as we, though they can draw no conclusions from them ; this being the property of the rational soul only, which they are not endowed with.

If there is any truth in what we are told by the learned Digby, chancellor to Henrietta queen of England, by father Kirker, a celebrated Jesuit, by father Schott of the same order, and by Gafferell and Vallemont, concerning the wonderful mystery
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of the Palingenesis, or resurrection of plants, it will help to account for the shades and fancies, which many will confidently assert they have seen in church-yards.

The account which these curious naturalists give of their performing the wonderful operation of the palingenesis, is as follows.

They take a flower, and burn it to ashes, from which, being collected with great care, they extract all the salts by calcination. These salts they put into a glass vial, and having added to them a certain composition, which has a property of putting the ashes in motion upon the application of heat, the whole becomes a fine dust, of a bluish colour. From this dust, when agitated by a gentle heat, there arises gradually a stalk, leaves, and then a flower; in short, there is seen the apparition of a plant, rising out of the ashes. When the heat ceases, the whole shew disappears, and the dust falls into its former chaos at the bottom of the vessel. The return of heat always raises out of its ashes this vegetable phoenix, which derives its life from the presence of this genial warmth, and dies as soon as it is withdrawn.

Father Kirker endeavours to account for this wonderful phenomenon by saying, that the seminal virtue of every mixed body is seated in its salts, and that when these salts are put in motion by heat, they immediately rise and circulate, like a vortex, in the glass-vessel. In this suspended state, which leaves them at liberty to arrange their particles, they assume the same situation and form, which they once received from nature; and preserving a tendency to their former disposition of parts, they return to their original situation, and place in the same order as they had in the living plant. Every particle of salt being thus determined

to take the same situation which it had before, those which were at the root of the plant go there again, and those which composed the stalk, the branches, the leaves, and the flower, resume their old place, and by this means exhibit a complete representation of the whole plant.

It is pretended, that the same experiment has been made upon a sparrow^a; and the Members of the Royal Society at London, who are now trying the experiment, hope to make it succeed upon men.

Now according to this principle of father Kirker, and the most learned chemists, who hold that the substantial form of bodies is contained in their salts, and that these salts, being put in motion by heat, will assemble themselves into the same form which nature originally gave them, it is not difficult to conceive, that when dead bodies are consumed in the earth, the salts which are exhaled from them among the other vapours that rise by means of those fermentations, which are common in that element, may arrange themselves in such a manner above ground, as to form those spectres and fancies which have frightened so many persons. And thus we see how little reason there is to attribute them, as many ignorant people do, to the coming again of spirits, or to the operation of devils.

To all the authorities which I have produced against the apparitions of souls from purgatory, I shall add a few reflections of a very obvious nature. If these souls could come again and desire prayers, in order to their being advanced sooner to a state of bliss, there is no person but what

^a See the abbe de Vallemont's book on the singularities of vegetation. 12mo. Paris.

would be pestered with these petitions from their departed friends; since every soul having the same inclinations, it is very probable that God would indulge them all with the same privileges. Besides, if they really have this liberty, it must seem unaccountable to every man of sense, why they never appear without playing those silly pranks, which every story of this sort abounds with; such as turning up beds, drawing curtains, pulling off clothes, throwing down furniture, and making frightful noises. Lastly, if there was any thing real in these apparitions, it is morally impossible that in so many centuries there should not be some so well attested, as to admit of no dispute.

Having thus shewn that all the apparitions which cannot be attributed to angels, or blessed souls, are produced by one of these three causes, either the force of imagination, or the acuteness of the senses, or a vitiated state of the organs of the body, as in the case of a frenzy or violent fever; I come now to enquire what opinion we are to form of the affair at St. Maur.

Though you have already read the account of it which has been published, yet, I imagine, you will not be displeased at my repeating to you the most remarkable circumstances with some minuteness. I will endeavour to omit nothing which has been alledged, to prove the authenticity of the fact, and will even make use of the author's own words, as much as I can, in order to avoid the imputation of representing it in a disadvantageous light.

M. de S. to whom this adventure happened, is a young man of about four or five and twenty, well shaped, but of a low stature. He had frequently heard, as he lay in bed, a loud knocking at his door, but the maid, who ran immediately to

to see, could never find any person there. His bed-curtains also had often been drawn open, though there was no one but himself in the room. On the 22d of March last, about eleven in the evening, as he was examining a great bundle of accompts in his study, with three lads, who were his servants, they all heard plainly something turning over the papers upon the table. At first they imagined it was the cat; but Mr. S. taking a candle, and searching carefully, could find nothing. Soon after he went to bed, and having ordered his three servants, who lay in the kitchen, which is next his own chamber, to go to bed too, he heard a second time the same noise in his study. He immediately rose to see what it was, and finding nothing as before, he attempted to shut the door, but feeling some resistance, he went into the study again to see what this obstacle could be. As soon as he was there, he heard a noise in the air, towards the corner of the room, like a great stroke against the wall, at which he shrieked out so loud, that all the family came running in. Though he was thoroughly frightened himself, yet he endeavoured to quiet their fears, and having found nothing, he went to bed again, and fell asleep. But the servants had scarce put out the candles, before Mr. S. was awaked by a sudden shock, like that of a boat striking against the arch of a bridge. This surprised him so much, that he called his servants again; and when they brought in a light, he was astonished at seeing his bed moved out of its place at least four feet, and found that the shock he felt was owing to the striking of the bed against the wall. His servants having replaced it, saw, with equal astonishment and terror, all the curtains fly open together, and the bed run towards the chimney. Upon this Mr. S. im-

S. immediately got up, and passed the rest of the night by the fire. About six o'clock in the morning, he made a fresh attempt to sleep, but was no sooner lain down, than the bed moved again in the same manner, before all his family, who held the bed-posts, in order to hinder it from stirring. At last, being obliged to give it up, he went and walked till dinner-time. When he had dined, he tried once more, but the bed having again changed its place two several times, he sent for a gentleman who lodges in the same house, for the sake of his company, and that he might be a witness of the fact; and the jolt which this person saw was so violent, that the left foot of the bedstead was broke off; which so amazed him, that being asked to come and see it again, he answered, that what he had seen already, together with the frightful noise that he had heard all night, had fully convinced him, that the thing was real. By means of this gentleman, the affair, which was hitherto known only to Mr. S. and his servants, became publick, and made a good deal of noise, till at last having reached the ears of a great prince, who was just come to St. Maur, his highness had a curiosity to have the affair cleared up, and took the trouble of examining carefully into the nature and evidence of the facts, which were related to him. By this time, it was become the subject of common conversation, and nothing was heard but fresh stories of apparitions, related by the credulous, and laughed at by the incredulous. In the mean time, Mr. S. was endeavouring to pluck up his spirits, in order to go to bed again the next night, and be admitted to converse with this spirit, who, he doubted not, had something of importance to tell him. He slept till nine o'clock the next morning, without any interruption, but a little heaving

heaving now and then under the bed, which served rather to rock him asleep than to disturb his repose. The next day also things were tolerably quiet, but on the 26th the spirit, who seemed to be grown graver, resumed his antick tricks, and begun the day with making a great noise in the kitchen. If he had stopped here, he might easily have been excused, but in the afternoon he grew more outrageous. Mr. S. who owns that he felt in himself a particular attraction towards his study, which he endeavoured to overcome, went into that room about six in the evening, and walked to the further end of it; but as he was returning towards the door, he was astonished to see it shut of its own accord, and fastened with two bolts. At the same time, the two doors of a large press that was behind him flew open, and made the study almost dark, because the only window in it was behind one of these doors. It may easily be imagined that this put him in a dreadful fright. However, he was enough in possession of himself to listen to a low, but distinct voice, at his left ear, which seemed to come from one corner of the study, and to be about a foot above his head. It spoke to him for about a minute in a language extremely proper and well chosen, and ordered him, *thou- ing* him all the while, to do a certain thing, which he was to keep an inviolable secret. All that he has discovered is, that it allowed him fourteen days to do it in; that it ordered him to go to a certain place, where he should find persons who would instruct him how to do it, and that it threatened to come and molest him again, if he failed in his obedience; and that then the conversation ended with a farewell. After this, Mr. S. can remember, that he fell down in a swoon upon the edge of a coffer, from which he has since felt a
pain

pain in his side. This noise, and his cries together, alarmed the family, who immediately ran up; and having tried in vain to open the door, they were going to break it down with a hatchet, when they heard Mr. S. crawling that way. He opened the door with great difficulty, and seeming to be in great disorder, and unable to speak, he was carried to the fire, and afterwards put to bed, where he was visited and treated with great humanity by the prince above-mentioned, who, at the first news of the accident, ran to the house, and having ordered every corner of it to be searched, without finding any person, his highness would have had him bled; but the surgeon, finding his pulse extremely low, thought it would be attended with great danger. Upon Mr. S.'s recovery from his swoon, his highness questioned him concerning the circumstances of this adventure, but could get at nothing but what I have related above, Mr. S. protesting, that it was as much as his life was worth to discover any thing farther. For fifteen days after this, the spirit was no more talked of; but upon the expiration of this term, whether his orders had not been punctually executed, or whether he chose to come and thank Mr. S. for his exactness, as he was lying on a little bed under one of the chamber windows, his mother being in a large bed in the same room, and one of his friends sitting in an arm chair, they all three heard something knock several times against the wall, and gave so violent a blow against the window, that they thought all the glass broke. Mr. S. immediately got up, and went into his study, to see if this troublesome spirit had any thing more to say to him, but he neither saw nor heard any thing. Thus ended this famous affair, which has
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made so much noise in the kingdom, and brought so many curious persons to St. Maur.

I shall now subjoin a few reflections upon those circumstances, which seem most remarkable, and likely to make the deepest impression.

The noise which was heard several times in the night by the master, the servant, and the neighbours, proves nothing at all; and the most prejudiced persons cannot deny, that it might be owing to a hundred different causes, and not one of them supernatural.

The same solution will serve for the rustling among the papers. A breath of air, or a mouse, might be the cause of this phenomenon.

There is something of greater weight in the motion of the bed, because several witnesses are produced to this point; but I am in hopes that a single reflection will shew there is no necessity of accounting for it by the interposition of an invisible arm.

Imagine to yourself a bed, with little wheels under its feet. A person, whose brain is disturbed, or who has a mind to divert himself by frightening his servants, lies upon it, complains that he is molested by a spirit, and puts himself into violent agitations. In this case, is there any thing wonderful in seeing a bed move, especially when the floor of the room is kept rubbed? But, it will be said, there were witnesses present, who did all they could to hinder this motion. And who are these witnesses? Two of them are persons in the patient's pay, who trembled all over for fear, and were not in a condition to examine into the private causes of this motion; and the third, who may be looked upon as the most considerable, has since told several people, that he had rather have been ten guineas out of pocket, than have
I asserted,

asserted, that he saw the bed move of its own accord.

As for the voice, which is so industriously kept secret, there being no witness, we can form no judgment concerning it, but from the condition in which the man, favoured with this pretended revelation, was found at the time.

A man's crying out in a violent manner, and coming to open a door, which he had probably bolted himself, upon hearing that it was going to be broke down, with his eyes staring, and his whole person in unusual disorder, are symptoms which would have made the ancient pagans take him for a sybil, in an enthusiastick raving; and certainly looks more like the effects of a convulsive fit, than of a conversation with a spiritual being.

Lastly, the violent blows against the wall and the window, happening in the night, and in the presence of two witnesses, might make some impression, if we could be sure that the patient, who lay directly under the window in a little bed, had no share in them. For the two witnesses who attest this noise, were the mother, and the particular friend of the patient: which friend, after having reflected maturely upon what he saw and heard, declares publickly, that it could be owing to nothing but witchcraft.

However strongly you are prejudiced in favour of this climate, I can scarce think that the observations I have made to you upon the circumstances of this affair, will induce you to think that Mr. S. has been honoured with the apparition of an angel. I am rather apprehensive, that you will attribute it to a disorder in his brain, occasioned by the thinness of the air. But as I am interested in the reputation of the air of St. Maur, I think myself

myself obliged to add something more concerning Mr. S. which will give you a greater insight into his character.

It requires no great skill in the science of physiognomy, to find out by his look that melancholy is the prevailing ingredient in his constitution. This black humour, added to a fever which he had laboured under for some time, might fill his brain with vapours, and make him fancy that he really heard every thing that he reported abroad. Besides, his design might be originally only to divert himself by frightening his servants; and when he found that his sport had reached the ears of a great prince, and might probably do him a mischief, this might engage him to carry his fiction farther. Upon the whole, I imagine you will be of my opinion, that the decision of the famous physician, Marefcot, in the case of Martha Brosfier, agrees perfectly well with the case before us, and explains the whole mystery: *à naturâ multa, plura ficta, à demone nulla*. His constitution made him fancy that he saw and heard a great deal: a desire of supporting what his whim, or his wantonness, had engaged him in, made him feign a great deal more: but no species of spirit had any thing to do in the whole affair. Without dwelling upon several proofs that I could give of his whimsical turn, I shall only observe, that his embarking lately at ten o'clock at night, in a little boat, to make a tour round the peninsula of St. Maur, when the weather was so cold, that he was forced to cover himself with straw, was thought so unaccountable by the prince I mentioned, that he took the trouble of examining him concerning the motives of so strange a voyage at so strange a time.

Give

Give me leave to add, that the prince's good sense made him easily guess at the source of this affair, and that his behaviour upon this occasion shews it is very difficult to impose upon him. Nor can I omit the judgment which Mr. S. the father, a man of distinguished merit, passed upon this adventure of his son, when he was first informed of it at Paris, by a letter from his wife at St. Maur. He told several persons, that he was convinced that the only spirit which had a hand in the transaction, was the spirit of his wife and son. The author of the relation was in the right to attempt to destroy the credit of such a testimony; but I can scarce imagine, that he himself thinks he has done it, by representing the father as a freethinker, who values himself upon being of the fashionable opinion with regard to spirits.

But to fix your judgment completely, and give an agreeable conclusion to this discussion which you have forced upon me, I cannot do better than repeat to you the words of a princessⁱ, who is not less distinguished by the delicacy of her wit, than by the grandeur of her station, and the charms of her person. The singularity of this adventure of St. Maur being one day the subject of conversation in her presence, Why should you be so surpris'd at it, says she, with that graceful air which always accompanies her? Is there any thing extraordinary in the son's conversing with spirits, when the mother sees God the Father three times a week? That woman, added the princess, is singularly favoured: for my part, I desire no greater happiness than to see him once for all.

ⁱ The dutchess-mother, count de Charolois, and the daughter to Lewis XIV. and count de Clermont. mother to the late duke, the

370 A DISSERTATION, &c.

You may divert yourself and your friends with this agreeable reflection; but be very cautious that my letter does not become publick. This is the only recompence that I desire for having obeyed your commands so punctually upon so delicate an occasion.

I am,

S I R,

Your most humble, &c,

St. Maur, May 8, 1706.

F I N I S.



